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Transactions for the year 1930

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TRANSACTIONS

of the

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1930

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Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 8-9, 1930

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

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OFFICERS

of the

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MAY, 1930–MAY, 1931

President

Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago

Vice Presidents

George A. Lawrence.....Galesburg
L. Y. Sherman.....Springfield
Richard Yates.....Springfield
Evarts Boutell Greene.....New York City
John McAuley Palmer.....Washington, D. C.
John H. Hauberg.....Rock Island
George W. Smith.....Carbondale

Board of Directors

Charles H. Rammelkamp.....Jacksonville
Andrew Russel.....Jacksonville
J. A. James.....Evanston
Laurence M. Larson.....Urbana
Theodore Calvin Pease.....Urbana
H. J. Patten.....Evanston
Logan Hay.....Springfield
George C. Dixon.....Dixon
Lincoln Weldon.....Bloomington
Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield
Thomas Rees.....Springfield
*Joseph B. Oakleaf.....Moline
Cornelius J. Doyle.....Springfield
Frederic Siedenburg.....Chicago
Edward W. Payne.....Springfield

Secretary-Treasurer

Miss Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois

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* Deceased June 2, 1930.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois Historical Collections, which are published by the Trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the cooperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such cooperation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion, it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

§ 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors, of which Board the President of the Society shall be *ex-officio* a member.

§ 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

§ 3. The Directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

§ 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control, under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled, "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled, 'An Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor,' approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889"; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

§ 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

§ 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither President nor Vice President shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a President *pro tempore*.

§ 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes, to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

§ 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of an initiation fee of not less than two dollars; and the payment thereafter of annual dues of not less than two dollars as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

§ 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

§ 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archaeological research or in the preservation

of the knowledge of historic events, may, upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every Society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall, during the period of his appointment, be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

§ 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

§ 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

§ 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

§ 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

§ 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided,* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY

(Members Please Read This Circular Letter)

Books and pamphlets on American History, Biography, and Genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian Tribes, and American Archaeology and Ethnology; Reports of Societies and Institutions of every kind, Educational, Economic, Social, Political, Cooperative, Fraternal, Statistical, Industrial, Charitable; Scientific Publications of States or Societies; Books or Pamphlets relating to the Great Rebellion and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; Newspapers; Maps and Charts; Engravings; Photographs; Autographs; Coins; Antiquities; Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and Bibliographical Works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; Material for Illinois History; old Letters, Journals.

2. Manuscripts; Narratives of the Pioneers of Illinois; Original Papers on the Early History and Settlement of the Territory; Adventures and Conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great Rebellion, or other wars; Biographies of the Pioneers, prominent citizens and public men of every county either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs, a sketch of the settlement of every Township, Village, and Neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois History.

3. City Ordinances, Proceedings of Mayor and Council; Reports of Committees of Council; Pamphlets or Papers of any kind printed by authority of the City; Reports of Boards of Trade; Maps of cities and Plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; Annual Reports of Societies; Sermons and Addresses delivered in the State; Minutes of Church Conventions, Synods, or other Ecclesiastical Bodies of Illinois; Political Addresses; Railroad Reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of Colleges and other Institutions of Learning; Annual or other Reports of School Boards, School Superin-

tendents, and School Committees; Educational Pamphlets, Programs and Papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier Laws; Journals and Reports of our Territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' Messages and Reports of State Officers; Reports of State Charitable and other State Institutions.

7. Files of Illinois Newspapers and Magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of Counties or Townships, of any date; Views and Engravings of buildings or historic places; Drawings or Photographs of scenery; Paintings; Portraits, etc., connected with Illinois History.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; Coins; Medals; Paintings; Portraits; Engravings; Statuary; War Relics; Autograph Letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian Tribes—their History, Characteristics, Religion, etc.; Sketches of prominent Chiefs, Orators and Warriors, together with contributions of Indian Weapons, Costumes, Ornaments, Curiosities, and Implements; also Stone Axes, Spears, Arrow Heads, Pottery, or other relics. It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.

PART I

Record of Official Proceedings

1930

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 9, 1930

The annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Lincoln Room of the Illinois State Historical Library, Friday, May 9, 1930, at 9:00 A. M.

There were present: Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, the President, who presided; Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, of Chicago; Mr. J. B. Oakleaf, of Moline; Mr. John H. Hauberg, Rock Island; Dr. Theodore C. Pease, Urbana; Dr. Laurence M. Larson, Urbana; and the Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Georgia L. Osborne, of Springfield.

The first order of business was the reading of the minutes of the last meeting. The President of the Society stated that they had been printed in the Transactions and said a motion to dispense with this reading would be in order. Father Siedenburg made the motion and it was seconded and carried.

The report of the Secretary of the Society was called for and read by Miss Osborne. On motion of Mr. Oakleaf, the report was adopted and ordered placed on file.

Doctor Schmidt asked that the various portions of the report be taken up while fresh in the minds of those present. The first matter to be discussed was in regard to those who do not pay their dues. He said undoubtedly there were many worthy people among them but he did not think they should be on record as members without the Directors having notice. That is, a list should be kept of those who are not able to pay their dues, considered a complimentary list, and each year the Board should have a letter from those ministers and others who are not able to pay dues, acknowledging receipt of the publications. In times past, publications of the Department have been sold to the second-hand book stores sometimes without the leaves having been cut. A discussion followed. The rule was finally adopted that an annual list be prepared showing those in arrears for dues, those considered deserving to be placed on a complimentary list. Mr. J. B. Oakleaf stated he did not approve of that idea. Once people were on that list the publications went indefinitely and there would be no way of knowing those that had passed on. Doctor Pease suggested that everyone be required to pay two dollars per annum. That Miss Osborne would know those persons who were unable to pay this sum but were interested and intelligent members of the Society. That the publications be continued to this limited list and report made each year to the Directors as to the number of persons she is thus supplying. Doctor Schmidt did not exactly approve of this idea. Mr. Oakleaf suggested that the persons who cannot pay request in writing that the publications be sent to them, thus putting them on record.

Where no such request is made and the annual dues not paid, such persons should be cut off from membership. This motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Hauberg asked what means were used to learn of those who had passed away during the year. Miss Osborne replied that generally some member of the family advised her and the daily papers were looked over each day with this matter in mind.

Mr. Oakleaf suggested that if the mail could not be delivered to the person addressed means should be had to have it returned and postage paid. Miss Osborne advised him that all publications sent out have a return card guaranteeing return postage paid.

A resolution was called for by the Chairman on the death of Prof. E. C. Page of DeKalb, Illinois, a director and valuable member of this Society for many years. The resignation of Rev. Ira W. Allen, of La-Grange, another director of the Society, was announced and the Chair asked that a resolution be passed relative to the services of Mr. Allen to the Society. Mr. Hauberg suggested that Father Siedenburg would be a good man to write these resolutions.

Doctor Schmidt asked if a vote of thanks would be in order to Mr. Orendorff, who had deposited in the Library a splendid file of early Canton papers. Miss Osborne stated formal acknowledgment had been made in the name of the Board of Trustees. The matter of the deposit of the Illinois *Gazette* by Mrs. W. H. Ford, of Lacon, Illinois, was mentioned.

The importance of rebinding the early House and Senate Journals and ways and means of defraying the great expense entailed in such work was then discussed. Miss Osborne told of the visit of Mr. Von Hagen to the Department and of his looking over these books with a view to submitting a bid to do the work but that we had not yet received his estimate. His plan was not to remove the original bindings but to repair them in such a way that they could be handled for many years. The earlier books are so valuable they could not leave the Department and he would do the work in the Library.

The next order of business was the reading of the report of the Secretary, which was ordered placed on file.

Father Siedenburg spoke of the wonderful collection of incunabula, a Bill for the purchase of which had been introduced in the United States Congress. He told how learned and scientific societies all over the country were petitioning Congress to buy that collection and asked that the Illinois State Historical Society go on record and do their utmost to secure this rare collection, which contains one of the three original volumes of the Wittenberg Bible. A motion was made by him that all Congressmen and the Senators from Illinois be written and urged to support this Bill for the purchase of this collection. The motion was seconded by Mr. Hauberg and carried.

Doctor Schmidt then asked if there was further business. Mr. Hauberg said he would like to bring up the matter of the sesquicentennial celebration of Rock Island and the Society's participation in it. He asked whether the committee appointed last year was still active and

was answered in the affirmative and it was suggested that the matter be taken up at the Business Meeting.

Recommendations were requested to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Rev. Ira W. Allen, of LaGrange, who has moved to California. Mr. Edward W. Payne, a valuable and interested member for many years, was suggested to fill this vacancy.

There being no further business, a motion was made by Mr. Oakleaf that the meeting adjourn. Seconded by Father Siedenburg and carried.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 9, 1930

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Auditorium of the Centennial Memorial Building, Springfield, Illinois, May 9, 1930. The meeting was called to order by the President, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, of Chicago, who presided.

The first order of business was the reading of the minutes of the last meeting. On motion of Mr. John H. Hauberg, of Rock Island, seconded by Mr. J. B. Oakleaf, of Moline, this formality was dispensed with and the report of the Secretary was called for. Miss Osborne reported on the activities of the Society during the year. By a vote of those present the report was accepted and placed on file.

The next order of business was the report of the Treasurer, Miss Georgia L. Osborne, which was read, accepted and filed. Doctor Schmidt explained that in addition to the dues, the Society received from the State an annual appropriation of $2,100.00 as a Department of the Library.

Attention was called in Miss Osborne's report to the death of Prof. E. C. Page, a former director and one of the advisory editors of the *Journal*. Mr. Page was a well-known historian and educator and resided at DeKalb, Illinois. Doctor Schmidt asked that a motion be made that a resolution be drawn up expressing to the family of Mr. Page the appreciation of his services to the Society and to the State at large.

On motion of Mr. Hauberg, which was seconded and carried, Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, of Chicago, was appointed a committee of one to draw up this resolution.

Attention was called to the resignation of Rev. Ira W. Allen, of LaGrange, a director of the Society. On motion of Mr. J. B. Oakleaf, which was seconded and carried, Father Siedenburg was asked to prepare a resolution.

Mr. Hauberg then asked the privilege of the floor and spoke on the sesquicentennial celebration to be held at Rock Island. He gave a brief history of the attempt of the British to seize the entire Mississippi Valley in 1780. He told of the plans and preparations being made by the Pioneer and Old Settlers Society to observe the 150th anniversary of this event and stated as a part of this celebration they wanted a special meeting of the State Society at Rock Island. After a general discussion the matter was referred to the Committee on Special Meetings for action.

Mr. Baldwin, of Joliet, made a motion that a joint meeting be held at Rock Island and referred to the Committee on Special Meetings. Mr. Oakleaf seconded the motion and it was carried.

Doctor Schmidt then brought up the question of the valuable collection of incunabula, which is said to be the only existing collection of its kind that will ever be presented for sale. Mr. Lewis, Congressman from Louisiana, has introduced a bill in Congress for its purchase. Doctor Schmidt thought it would be deplorable if this collection were lost to the United States. He told of the enormous prices single copies of some of the books contained in this collection had brought and spoke of a recent auction in Chicago of rare books and manuscripts and the prices they commanded. He said he merely mentioned this fact to show that the price asked for the Vollbehr collection was not an unreasonable one. He mentioned the action taken by the Board of Directors at their meeting earlier in the day and said a motion was in order that Father Siedenburg be asked to prepare a resolution which the Secretary would send to the members of the House and Senate of the United States from Illinois.

On motion of Mr. Hauberg, seconded by Mr. Oakleaf, Father Siedenburg was requested to prepare such a resolution.

Mr. Oakleaf then spoke of a trip he recently had to Nauvoo and thought the State Society should make an endeavor to secure as much Mormon material there as it could and place it in a room in the Centennial Building to be designated as the Mormon Room.

Miss Osborne replied to this suggestion by telling of the splendid Mormon collection of books and pamphlets in the Library—one whole alcove being given to it—and stated it would be impossible at present to secure space for such a room as Mr. Oakleaf contemplated.

Doctor Schmidt suggested that Mr. Oakleaf be made a committee of one to report to the Library Board as to what Mormon material could be obtained. He also brought up the question as to whether the Library and Society should endeavor to have a museum or not. Mr. Hauberg asked if this would be for Mormon material and was answered in the negative. Doctor Schmidt told of the material stored away in the storage room of the Library and the dissatisfaction it caused the donors that there is not a suitable place for its display. He spoke of the hope that when the present Centennial Building was erected that space would be allowed for a museum but that on account of the overcrowded condition existing in the State House necessitating the placing of various departments in the new building that such a room was not available. He said that there had been more or less criticism of the Library and Society for failure to secure a room for the exhibit of relics donated and deposited. He told of the popularity of the museum in connection with the Chicago Historical Society and of the large number of visitors it drew, large classes of school children being brought there each week.

Mrs. I. G. Miller told of her son's recent visit to Nauvoo and of his interest in the relics displayed there.

The next order of business being the selection of officers for the coming year, Doctor Schmidt asked that a nominating committee be appointed.

A motion was made by Mr. Hauberg, seconded by Mr. Oakleaf, that the Chair appoint the nominating committee. Doctor Schmidt then appointed Mrs. I. G. Miller, Springfield; Mr. H. E. Baldwin, Joliet, and Miss Margaret C. Norton, of Springfield. The committee retired for conference. In their absence a report from the St. Clair County Historical Society was read.

Doctor Schmidt spoke briefly of the old Cahokia Court House and how it came to be brought to Chicago.

Dr. W. E. Shastid, of Pike County, was then called on for a report and gave an outline of what his Society was doing in the way of preserving original records. The Pike County Society is housed in the Court House and has a good collection with promises of many additions in the future. Doctor Shastid said antiques were being taken away from the county but with the formation of the County Society local pride will not permit this practice to continue and the prospects were good for a splendid museum. He closed his remarks by inviting the members of the State Society to go to Pike County and see what they were doing.

Doctor Schmidt gave a short account of the activities of the Chicago Historical Society and stated that in a few weeks they would have the famous James Rosenthal collection of Lincoln pictures, which is one of the largest in the West.

Mrs. I. G. Miller spoke of the Lincoln episodes broadcasted by Station W. L. S. and said by writing the Station one could secure printed copies.

Mr. Baldwin, of the Will County Historical Society, told of the organization of that Society seven years ago. He said back in 1868 his county had such a Society, the promoter being a Mr. August Hank. When interest in this Society lagged, the matter of organizing a public library was agitated and on the basis of the few books held by the early Will County Historical Society the Joliet Public Library was formed. The old Society was dormant until 1923 when the Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to organize a County Society, which was done. It has a membership at this time of 105, eleven being life members. Financially they are in good shape and the Society is preparing to erect a memorial on the spot where Abraham Lincoln made one of three speeches in Joliet in 1856. He spoke of some of their outstanding meetings, at one of which they took up the early post-offices and postmasters of the county; at another old music, and at still another early schools and teachers of the county.

He spoke of the success of the joint meeting of the State Society and the Will County Society.

The Nominating Committee having returned, Mrs. I. G. Miller, Chairman, advised they were ready to report their recommendations:

President

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago

Vice Presidents

George A. Lawrence.....Galesburg
L. Y. Sherman.....Springfield
Richard Yates.....Springfield
Evarts Boutell Greene.....New York City
John McAuley Palmer.....Washington, D. C.
George W. Smith.....Carbondale

Board of Directors

Charles H. Rammelkamp.....Jacksonville
Andrew Russel.....Jacksonville
J. A. James.....Evanston
Laurence M. Larson.....Urbana
Theodore Calvin Pease.....Urbana
H. J. Patten.....Evanston
Logan Hay.....Springfield
George C. Dixon.....Dixon
Lincoln Weldon.....Bloomington
Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield
Thomas Rees.....Springfield
Joseph B. Oakleaf.....Moline
Cornelius J. Doyle.....Springfield
Frederic Siedenburg.....Chicago
Edward W. Payne.....Springfield

Secretary-Treasurer

Miss Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois.

Doctor Schmidt moved the acceptance of the report. The motion was seconded by Frank E. Brandt, of Rock Island, and carried.

Mr. Hauberg spoke of the situation in his county, of the activities of the Old Settlers Association and the Rock Island County Historical Society.

There being no further business, motion was made and seconded that the meeting stand adjourned.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 9, 1930

To the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN: I herewith submit my report as Secretary of the State Historical Society from May 10, 1929, to May 9, 1930.

The Society and its work continues to grow in interest, and while we have increased the annual dues to two dollars per annum, it has not materially affected its membership. In many cases, as elderly clergymen and a few pioneers, I am very sorry to drop membership for non-payment of dues. Is it your pleasure that in many of these cases we shall continue to send some of our publications, as they all express much interest in receiving them?

Our purchases of manuscripts, original letters and documents are as follows:

Douglas Manuscript. Dawson et al *vs.* Bank of Illinois	$100.00
Lewis Hennepin Map, published 1704	7.50
Lincoln letter to Major M. R. William Grebe. Undated. Replying to request of Major Grebe for autograph for his father in Germany	150.00
Appointment of James Latham as First Probate Judge of Sangamon County, February 12, 1821. Signed by Shadrach Bond and Elias K. Kane	150.00
Letter, dated Peoria, Illinois, October 28, 1824. Addressed to General Clark, Superintendent Indian Department, St. Louis, Missouri. In regard to Indian affairs	100.00
Dated, Headquarters at Postville, April 4, 1841. Appointment of Robert Latham as Quartermaster in the Regular Illinois Militia. Signed by Colonel J. K. Skinner	50.00
Letter, Ulysses S. Grant to Governor Willard P. Hall, of Missouri. Dated September 16, 1864. Portion of letter with signature, William McKinley	50.00
Letter, General Logan, dated Washington, March 4, 1868, addressed to "dear Phillips"	22.50
Four land warrants for land in Crawford, Pike and Brown Counties	10.00

RARE BOOKS

The "Voice of Truth" (Mormon), 1844, containing General Joseph Smith's correspondence with General James Arlington Bennett. Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys	$100.00
Americans Read!!! General Joseph Smith's Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States. An appeal to the Green Mountain Boys	125.00

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY

One hundred and twenty-nine figurines of important women in the history of Illinois, who have helped make its history. These we unveiled at our December 3d (1929) meeting, at which time we had a large and appreciative audience. These figurines were the gift to the State of Mrs. Minna Schmidt, of Chicago. We had very handsome cases made for them at the Art Institute of Chicago. These figurines are on display in the Library, where they are permanently located. I do not know of any other state in the Union which has so honored its women. The display is daily visited by schools and societies, and other interested organizations.

Among other gifts to the Society is a collection of Civil War relics—sabers, manacles (used in Libby prison), knapsacks, shells and solid balls. These are the gift of Lewis A. Weyburn, Oak Park, Illinois.

An army chest of G. M. McConnel, one of our oldest members who has passed on. Gift of his son, R. B. McConnel, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Collection of Indian relics, axes, arrow points, rubbing stones, old sandstone pipe found in Putnam County. Gift of Mrs. Carrie I. Sparling, Henry, Illinois.

Picture of Mark Delahay, early pioneer and friend of Lincoln. Gift of his daughter, Mary Delahay.

A number of original photographs of early Menard County residents were presented by Mr. R. E. Bone, of Tallula, Illinois. Mr. Bone, who has recently passed on, was one of our most interested members.

GIFTS OF NEWSPAPERS

Jacksonville Daily Journal. February 11, 20, 24; May 26, 27, 28, 31; June 1-5, 7-9; 1869. February 13, 1885.

Rochester (N. Y.) Daily Courier. June 18, 1869. Gift of R. B. McConnel, Indianapolis, Indiana. All of these early papers give full accounts of the murder trial of Murray McConnel, prominent lawyer of Jacksonville, Illinois.

There have been deposited in the Library by Mr. U. G. Orendorff, of Canton, Illinois, 147 volumes of Canton newspapers:

Canton Ledger, 1856–1910; November 3, 1910–October 24, 1912; October 3, 1912–December 31, 1912; January–December, 1914.

Canton Register, 1852–1865; 1872–4; March 3, 1876–February 23, 1877; June 7, 1878–November 29, 1878; June 7, 1878–May 30, 1879; December 6, 1878–December 28, 1879; 1880–1890.

Canton Weekly Register, November 27, 1890–April 29, 1915; also, 1866–7–8.

Canton Daily Register, June 7, 1890–December, 1925.

Deposited by Mrs. W. H. Ford, Lacon, Illinois:

Lacon Herald, 1837–February, 1840.

Ninewah Gazette, Peru, Illinois, May, 1840–May 8, 1841.

Illinois Gazette, Lacon, Illinois, June 9, 1841–June 13, 1866.

This file, obtained through the interest of Mr. Logan Hay, is the property of Mrs. W. H. Ford, of Lacon, Illinois, who will eventually give it to the Library.

We have also had presented to us the Record Books of the Crane Creek Baptist Church, of Macon, Illinois, by Mrs. Alma M. Hanson, of Havana, Illinois. These books cover a very early period in the history of this old church.

The Methodist Church Records of the early conferences, which have been deposited in a steel file by the Conference, have been removed to their permanent offices at the Wesleyan University, at Bloomington, Illinois.

A gavel, made from wood from the Bond and Menard homes, and presented by Mrs. Sarah Bond Hanley to Mr. David E. Shanahan, Speaker of the House of Representatives, has been deposited in the Library by Mr. Shanahan.

Officers and members of the Illinois State Historical Society assisted and took part in the Will County Historical Society Celebration held at Joliet, Illinois, October 30-31, 1929. We have also received an invitation to take part in the Rock Island County Historical Society. Our local historical societies are all doing effective work and are affiliated with our State Historical Society.

We have each week, as visitors, many classes and students from the various local and county schools. As many do not register, it is not possible to know the exact number, but as a rule they come in classes of from twenty-five to one hundred.

Your Secretary is called upon for addresses on State history and other subjects and, as far as she can, not to interfere with regular duties, these addresses have been made.

MENDING OF LINCOLN PAPERS COMPLETED

The work of mending the Lincoln papers from the Sangamon County Court has been completed and these papers and documents are now ready for the binding. This work we have taken up for an estimate on the cost of, as well as the rebinding and mending of all the earlier laws, House and Senate Journals, with Mr. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, of Chicago. This work can not be done through the public printer as it has to be done in the Library, as these laws, etc., are too valuable to leave the Department. Mr. Von Hagen is an expert along this line and does the rebinding of valuable books and documents for all the important libraries throughout the United States. His work is thorough and highly recommended.

PUBLICATIONS

The second volume of the Browning Diary is in the hands of the publisher, as well as the Territorial Laws of Indiana, and will soon be issued.

Our contribution to the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Memorial was a small volume on Clark, edited by Prof. Theodore Calvin Pease and Marguerite Jenison Pease. This has been generally distributed to all libraries and societies on our exchange list, and we have frequent calls for it.

Two Journals of the Illinois State Historical Society will soon be ready for distribution. The January, 1930, Journal has been in the hands of the printer for several months, delayed on account of lack of

proper stock for printing. The April, 1930, Journal (Vol. 23, No. 1) will also soon be issued.

Save for the Index, the Transactions for 1929 is completed and will soon be ready for distribution.

A cumulative index of all our publications is in the hands of the printer and will soon be completed.

We have secured space in the new building for an addition to our newspaper room, and as soon as we are assured of the amount of space assigned us, we will have to ask for a special appropriation of the next Legislature for its equipment.

All Lincoln letters, original documents, etc., along our line of work are almost prohibitive in price. And we can not take funds from our publications to purchase them. What shall we do in the matter? Our publication fund is large, as you know, and has to be used for its explicit purpose. How can we meet prices of original letters and manuscripts?

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT

I have the report of the Department, and ask that it be printed and not read at this time.

PRIZE ESSAY CONTEST

The gold medal for the best essay in the State on "Early Mills in Illinois" was won by Anna Kathryn Hurie of Menard county at the December 3d meeting. This is the second time the gold medal prize has gone to Menard County. The topic for the coming year is "Early Schools and Teachers in My County." We have received many requests for rules governing this contest and expect a splendid response.

The list of our members who have passed on since our last report is herewith given, as well as a list of all societies and new members to whom the publications of the Society are sent.

MAILING LIST

Life Members	23	
Honorary Members	11	
Annual Members	1,055	
Total Members		1,089
Libraries in State of Illinois	536	
Libraries outside of State	171	
Total Libraries		707
Newspapers		228
Members House and Senate		199
Total mailing list		2,223

Lost by death, 30.

New members, 50.

During the past year we lost 101 members, 30 of these being through death.

We gained 50 new members, making us show a loss of about 21 members.

DEATHS REPORTED SINCE LAST ANNUAL MEETING

A. N. Abbot, Morrison, September 14, 1929.
Harry Ainsworth, Moline, February 6, 1930.
W. A. Blodgett, Morrison, 1929.
R. E. Bone, Tallula, April 21, 1930.
Miss Mary E. Brooks, Springfield, July 25, 1929.
Edward F. Carry, Chicago, April 4, 1929.
Elam Lewis Clarke, Waukegan, 1929.
Mrs. J. D. Conley, Carlinville, September 15, 1929.
Mrs. Blanche K. Davis, Litchfield, February 16, 1929.
Charles W. Dey, Dixon, 1929.
Simeon W. Dixon, Chicago, August 10, 1929.
John F. Fagan, Springfield, December 24, 1929.
Mrs. R. B. Farson, St. Charles, March 13, 1929.
Prof. S. A. Forbes, Urbana, March 13, 1930.
Mrs. Mary H. Frazier, Sparta, 1929.
Judge Wm. N. Gemmill, Chicago, March 31, 1930.
H. B. Hunt, Polo, January 10, 1930.
Judge H. W. Johnson, Chicago, 1929.
Rev. J. S. Kelly, Moline, March 27, 1930.
Mrs. Jayne B. Kerr, Springfield, July 16, 1929.
J. S. Nottingham, Pleasant Plains, October 11, 1929.
Prof. E. C. Page, DeKalb, December 25, 1929.
Allen B. Pond, Chicago, March 17, 1929.
William M. Russell, Carrollton, November 28, 1929.
Charles A. Seiders, Toledo, Ohio, 1929.
Joseph B. Shea, Pittsburg, Pa., January 6, 1930.
Harry M. Taggart, Wenona, April, 1929.
H. T. Thomas, New York City, September 29, 1929.
Rev. W. P. Throgmorton, Marion, December 22, 1929.
John Howard Todd, Minneapolis, Minn., June 17, 1929.
Frederick Latimer Wells, Wheaton, December 9, 1929.

These, gentlemen, I believe cover the activities of the Department for the past year, and I wish to express to you my deep appreciation of the assistance you have given me and my co-workers.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Secretary, Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY

To the officers and members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Our genealogical department of the Library is one of our busiest departments, as each day we have requests from all over the United States asking for information on family history. The early pioneers of the State are asked for, this means we have to go through the one hundred and two county histories of the State (unfortunately not indexed) to see if we can locate them. This takes much time and research, and when the information is given and sent on, our enquirers are most appreciative and frequently send most generous checks, but these checks we return as we consider this work a special work of the department and are very glad if possible to supply it.

LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, COMPILED BY STATES

Connecticut State. Encyclopedia of Connecticut Biography, Vols. 1-5, 9-11. New York, N. Y. American Historical Society. 1917.

Connecticut State. Fairfield, Conn. History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield. By Donald Lines Jacobus. Fairfield, Conn., by the D. A. R. 1930. 110 pp.

Connecticut State. Norwich, Conn. Vital Records, 1739-1840. By M. Sawyer. Typed copy. 1928. 101 pp.

Connecticut State. Windsor, Conn. Cemetery Inscriptions. Compiled by the Abigail Wolcott Ellsworth Chapter, D. A. R., Windsor, Conn. 1929. 178 pp.

Georgia State. Annals of Georgia. By Caroline Price Wilson. Pub. New York, N. Y., Frederick Hitchcock. 1928. 208 pp.

Illinois State. Beardstown, Cass County, Illinois. History of. By Mrs. T. J. Schweer. Beardstown, Ill., by author. 1929. 22 pp.

Illinois State. Clay County. Marriage Records of Clay County, Illinois. Typed Copy. 1929. 13 pp.

Illinois State. Illinois State History of the Daughters of the American Revolution Society. By Rose Moss Scott. Pub. Danville, Ill., Illinois Printing Co. 1929. 465 pp.

Illinois State. Washington County. The Little Blue Book. By H. F. Heckert. 1916. By County Clerk of Washington County, Ill. 34 pp.

Illinois State. Will County. History of. By August Maue. Topeka Kansas, Historical Pub. Co. 1928. 1140 pp.

Indiana State. Year Book of Society of Indiana Pioneers. Indianapolis, Ind., by the Society. 1928. 94 pp.

Kentucky State. Barren County, Ky. Times of Long Ago, Barren County, Kentucky. By Franklin Gorin. Louisville, Ky., J. P. Morton Co. 1929. 131 pp.

Kentucky State. Kentucky Pioneer and Court Records. By Mrs. Harry Kennett McAdams. Lexington, Ky., Keystone Printing Co. 1929. 382 pp.

Kentucky State. Shelby County. History of Shelby County, Kentucky. By George L. Wilks. Louisville, Ky., C. T. Dearing Pub. Co. 1929. 268 pp.

Louisiana State. Shreveport, Louisiana. Chronicles of. By Maude Hearn O'Pry. Shreveport, La., Journal Printing Co. 1928. 470 pp.

Maine State. Embden, Me. Embden Town of Yore. By Ernest George Walker. Skowhegan, Maine, Reporter Co. 1929. 760 pp.

Maine State. Livermore, Me. History of the Town of Livermore, Maine. By Ira Thompson Monroe. Lewiston, Maine, Lewiston Journal. 1928. 275 pp.

Maine State. Sebago, Me. Centennial History of Sebago, Maine. By Fred L. Meserve. Sebago, Me., by author. 1926. 54 pp.

Maryland State. Archives of Maryland. Vols. 2, 4, 8, 14, 19-29, 31-46. Baltimore, Md., Maryland Historical Society, 1879-1929.

Maryland State. Baltimore, Md. Genealogy and Biography of Baltimore, Maryland. New York, N. Y., Chapman Pub. Co. 1897. 1061 pp.

Maryland State. Counties of Maryland. By Edward B. Matthews. Baltimore, Md., John Hopkins Press. 1907. 572 pp.

Maryland State. History of Evangelical Synod of Maryland. By Abdel Ross Wentz. Harrisburg, Pa., Evangelical Press. 1820. 1920 pp.

Maryland State. History of Maryland Province and State. By Matthew Page Andrews. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran and Co. 721 pp.

Maryland State. Kent County, Maryland. By Fred G. Wilton. Privately printed. 1916. 250 pp.

Maryland State. Maryland Calendar of Wills, Vol. 8. By Jane Baldwin. New York, N. Y., Grafton Press. 1929. 187 pp.

Massachusetts State. Georgetown, Mass. Vital Records to the Year 1849. Pub. Salem, Mass., The Essex Institute. 1928. 90 pp.

Massachusetts State. Middlesex, Mass. Historic Homes and Places. Genealogical and Personal Memoirs. By William Richard Cutter. New York, N. Y., Lewis Pub. Co. 1908. 2026 pp.

Massachusetts State. Windham, Mass. Supplement to the History of Windham. By Leonard A. Morrison. Boston, Mass., Don Upham. 1892. 169 pp.

Massachusetts State. Worcester County, Mass. Historic Homes and Institutions and Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Worcester County. By Ellery Becknell Crane. 4 vols. New York, N. Y., Lewis Pub. Co. 1907.

New Hampshire State. Weare, N. H. Births, Marriages and Deaths of Weare, New Hampshire. By M. Sawyer, New York, N. Y., by author. 1929. 31 pp.

New Jersey State. Cumberland County, New Jersey. Historic Days in Cumberland County, New Jersey. By Isaac T. Nichols. Bridgeton, N. J., by author. 1907. 257 pp.

New Jersey State. Orange County, New Jersey. History of the Oranges to 1921. By David Lawrence Pierson. 3 vols. New York, N. Y., Lewis Pub. Co. 1922. 749 pp.

New Jersey State. Salem, N. J. Genealogical data the Salem Tenth in West New Jersey. By H. Stanley Craig. Merchantville, N. J., by author. 1926. 100 pp.

New Jersey State. Salem County. Salem County Marriage Records. By A. Stanley Craig. Merchantville, N. J., by author. 1928. 295 pp.

New Jersey State. Westfield, N. J. Commemorative History of the Presbyterian Church, Westfield, N. J. By W. K. McKenney, C. A. Philhower, etc. Westfield, N. J., by the church. 1929. 483 pp.

New York State. New York City During the Revolution, from collection of the Mercantile Library Association. Pub. New York, N. Y., by the association. 1861. 194 pp.

New York State. New York in the American Revolution. By Wilbur Abbott. New York, N. Y., Charles Scribner and Son. 1921. 302 pp.

New York State. Sleepy Hollow, N. Y. First Record Book, Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow. By Morris Patterson Ferris. Yonkers, N. Y., Yonkers Historical Society. 1901. 252 pp.

New York State. Ulster County. Gravestone inscriptions of Ulster County. By Lila James Roney. Vols. 3, 4. Typed copy. 1929.

North Carolina State. Pitt County. Sketches of Pitt County, North Carolina. By Henry T. King. Raleigh, N. C., Edwards and Broughton. 1911. 263 pp.

Ohio State. Hamilton County. History of Hamilton County, Ohio. By Henry A. and Kate B. Ford. Cleveland, Ohio, L. A. Williams. 1881. 432 pp.

Ohio State. Ohio Valley Genealogies. By Charles A. Hanna. New York, N. Y., privately printed. 1900. 128 pp.

Pennsylvania State. Erie County. History of Erie County, Pennsylvania. By Laura G. Sanford. Erie, Pa., by author. 1894. 460 pp.

Pennsylvania State. Lackawanna County. History of Lackawanna County, Pennsylvania. By August Maue. Topeka, Kans., Historical Pub. Co. 1928. 1267 pp.

Pennsylvania State. Lycoming County. History of Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, Vols. 1-2. By Col. Thomas W. Lloyd. Indianapolis, Ind., Historical Publishing Co. 1929. 1218 pp.

Pennsylvania State. Perry County. History of Perry County. By Silas Wright. Lancaster, Pa., Wylie and Griest. 1873. 290 pp.

South Carolina State. Camden, S. C. Historic Camden. By Thomas J. Kirkland and R. Kennedy. Columbia, S. C., State Pub. Co. 1905. 423 pp.

Tennessee State. Giles County. History of Giles County, Tennessee, 1876. By James McCallum. Pulaski, Tenn., Pulaski Citizens Pub. 1928. 125 pp.

Vermont State. Barnard, Vt. History of Barnard, Vermont. By William N. Newton. Burlington, Vt., Historical Society. 1929. 2 vols.

Vermont State. Connecticut River Valley in Southern Vermont and New Hampshire. By Lyman S. Hayes. Rutland, Vt., Tuttle Co. 1929. 358 pp.

Virginia State. Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800. By Lewis Preston Summers. Abingdon, Va., by author. 1929. 1757 pp.

Virginia State. Kingston, Va. Vestry Book of Kingston Parish, Virginia. Transcribed, annotated and indexed by C. G. Chamberlayne. Richmond, Va., Old Dominion Press. 1924. 161 pp.

Virginia State. Mecklenburg County. Marriage License Bonds of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, 1765-1810. By Stratton Nottingham. Onancock, Va., by author. 1929. 71 pp.

Virginia State. Northampton County. Revolutionary Soldiers and Sailors from Northampton County, Virginia; muster rolls and pay rolls of the Twenty-seventh Regiment of Virginia militia, Northampton County, 1812. By Stratton Nottingham. Onancock, Va., by author. 1929. 71 pp.

Virginia State. Northumberland County. Marriage License Bonds of Northumberland County, Virginia. By Stratton Nottingham. Onancock, Va., by author. 1929. 132 pp.

Virginia State. Pittsylvania County. History of Pittsylvania County. By Maud Carter Clement. Lynchburg, Va., J. P. Bell. 1929. 340 pp.

Virginia State. Prince Edward County. History of Prince Edward County, Virginia. By J. D. Eggleston. Farmville, Va., Farmville Herald. 1929. 16 pp.

Virginia State. Virginia Soldiers of 1776. Vol. 3. By Louis A. Burgess. Richmond, Va., Richmond Press. 1929. pp. 999-1514.

West Virginia State. History of West Virginia. By S. Meyers. Vols. 1-2. Pub. New Martinsville, W. Va. 560, 488 pp. 1915.

West Virginia State. Pleasants County. A History of Pleasants County, West Virginia. By Robert L. Pemberton. St. Marys, W. Va., Oracle Press. 1929. 272 pp.

Canada. Shipton, Canada. A Sketch of the Early Settlement and History of Shipton. By Rev. Edward Cleveland. Pub. Canada East, S. C. Smith. 1858. 78 pp.

FAMILY HISTORIES.

Adams Family Records. Published by James Taylor Adams. Wise, Va. 1928. 108 pp.

Barnes Family. Barnes Family of West Virginia. By I. A. Barnes. Scottdale, Pa., Mennonite Pub. House. 1920. 126 pp.

Bixby Family. Bixby Genealogy. By Willard G. Bixby. New York, N. Y., by author. 1919. 707 pp.

Blair Family. Blair Magazine of Blair Society for Genealogical Research. Erie, Pa., by the Society. 1925-1929.

Bunn Family. Supplement to History of Bunn Family. By Romanzo Norton Bunn. Chicago, Ill., by the author. 1929. 11 pp.

Dashiell Family. Dashiell Family Records, Vol. 2. By Benjamin J. Dashiell. Baltimore, Md., by the author. 1929. 580 pp.

De Haven Family. History of the De Haven Family. By Howard De Haven Ross. Pub. New York, N. Y., Pandick Press. 1929. 36 pp.

Doniphan Family. Ancestral Lines Doniphan, Frazee and Hamilton Family. By Frances Frazee Hamilton. Greenfield, Ind., William Mitchell Printing Co. 1928. 700 pp.

Dows Family. Dows or Dowse Family in America. By Azro Miller Dows. Lowell, Mass., by author. 1890. 348 pp.

Du Bois Family. Miller-Du Bois Family History. By Eva Miller Nourse. Privately printed. 1928. 407 pp.

Earle Family. Genealogical Notes on Family of Mays and Earle. By Samuel E. Mays. Pub. Plant City by the author. 1927. 324 pp.

Eiler Family. Our Ancestors. By Homer Eiler. Grinola, Kans., James Dancy. 1929. 54 pp.

Gables Family. Genealogy of the Gables. By the family. Cedar Rapids, Ia., Republican Pub. Co. 1902. 80 pp.

Harris Family. Genealogy of the Harris and Allied Families. By Pauline M. and Kathleen P. Jones. Huntsville, Ala., by authors. 1910. 32 pp.

Hufford Family. Hufford Family History. By Franklin Pierce Hoffert. Indianapolis, Ind., by author. 1909. 265 pp.

Kip Family. History of the Kip Family in America. By Frederic E. Kip. Montclair, N. J., F. E. Kip. 1928. 440 pp.

McConnell Family. McConnell Marriages and Genealogy. By Hugh M. and Mattie E. Addington. Nicholsville, Va., Service Printing Co. 1929. 36 pp.

McPherson Family. McPherson and Allied Families. By Nettie and Kate McPherson. New York, N. Y., American Historical Society. 1929. 157 pp.

Mays Family. Genealogical Notes on Family of Mays and Earle. By Samuel E. Mays. Pub. Plant City, Florida, by author. 1927. 324 pp.

Meharry Family. Meharry Family in America, 1794-1925. Pub. by Lafayette Printing Company, Lafayette, Ind. 1925. 384 pp.

Miller Family. Miller-Du Bois Family History. By Eva Miller Nourse. Privately printed. 1928. 407 pp.

Moir Family. Moir Genealogy. By Alexander Moir. Lowell, Mass., by author. 1913. 492 pp.

Moore Family. Chronological History of William and Harriet Moore. By U. S. Moore. Lomax, Ill., by the author. 1904. 140 pp.

Newton Family. History of the Newton Families in Colonial America. By Clair Alonzo Newton. Naperville, Ill., by the author. 128 pp.

Norton Family. Genealogy of the Norton Family. By Joseph M. Norton. Ms. by author. 1929.

Reynolds Family. Reynolds Family of Norwich, Connecticut. By Marion H. Reynolds and Anna C. Rippier. Brooklyn, N. Y., Reynolds Family Association. 1928. 71 pp.

Rogers Family. Ancestors and Descendants of Dr. David Rogers. By Edward F. F. Beixcdon. Privately printed by author. 1928. 123 pp.

Sampson Family. Kith and Kin. Supplement by Mrs. John Russell Sampson. Richmond, Va., by author. 1929. 11 pp.

Schwenkfelder Family. Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families. The Schwenkfelder Church, Pub. Pennsburg, Pa. 1923. 1752 pp.

Smith Family. Biographical and Genealogical Notes. By Micah Pearce Smith. Ms. 1930. 98 pp.

Snow Family. The William Snow Family. By Edwin H. Snow. Providence, R. I., by author. 1908. 65 pp.

Tuley Family. Tuley Family Memoirs and Floyd Family Connection. New Albany, Ind., by author. 1908. 72 pp.

Twitchell Family. Genealogy of the Twitchell Family. By Ralph Emmerson Twitchell. Rutland, Vt., Tuttle Company. 1929. 707 pp.

Wyatt Family. Wyatt Family of England and America. Compiled by Arah-Dean G. Finch. Denver, Col. Typed copy. 1929. 51 pp.

GENERAL WORKS

Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy. By Frederick A. Virkus. Vol. 3. Chicago, Ill., F. A. Virkus and Co. 1928. 815 pp.

Biographical Dictionary of First Settlers of New England. By John Eliot. Salem, Mass., Cushing and Appleton. 1809. 512 pp.

Daughters of the American Revolution. Lineage Books, Vols. 110, 111, 112. 1929-1930. Washington, D. C., National Society, D. A. R.

Dictionary of American Biography. Vols. 2-4. New York, N. Y., Charles Scribner and Son. 1929-1930.

Family Lineage Record Book. By F. A. Virkus. Chicago, Ill., F. A. Virkus and Co. 1927. 80 pp.

Genealogical Material. By Mrs. N. C. Phillips. Typed copy. 1928.

History of New England. By Daniel Neal. Vols. 1-2. London, England, J. Clark. 1720. 711 pp.

New Cyclopedia of American Biography, Vols. 37, 38. New York, N. Y., American Historical Association. 1929.

U. S. Military Record of Battery G. Second Illinois Artillery. Pub. by Northern District of Illinois. 1865. 1 p.

We continue to subscribe to the following magazines:

Blair Magazine of the Blair Society of Genealogical Research.

Bulletin of California State Society, Sons of the American Revolution.

Cavaliers and Pioneers. A Calendar of Virginia Land Grants.

The County Court Note Book Bulletin.

Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine.

Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey.

Genealogy Magazine.

Hayden Family Quarterly.

Huguenot Society of South Carolina.

Journal of American Genealogy.

Kentucky State Historical Society Register.

The Magazine of American Genealogy.

Maryland Genealogical Bulletin.

Mayflower Descendant.

The Minute Man. S. A. R. Bulletin.
National Genealogical Society.
Nebraska and Midwest Genealogical Record.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register.
New Haven Genealogical Magazine.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Record.
Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.
South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine.
Stewart Clan Magazine.
Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine.
Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine.
Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.
William and Mary College Quarterly.

The Department solicits gifts of early pioneer letters, Bible records, and anything of like nature which will put the present generation in touch with some of the earlier people of the State, who may be among the number from whom they are direct or indirect descendants.

Thanking the members of the Society for their cooperation in this Department, and appreciating the help they have given us from time to time, which I hope will be continued.

Respectfully submitted,

Georgia L. Osborne,
Chairman Genealogical Committee,
Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. CLAIR COUNTY, ILLINOIS, TO THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This Association, organized 25 years ago, has 32 members. Does not want fewer. Does not need any more. Has the shortest constitution in the world, which is the crying need of all organizations, for all sorts of regulations have been adopted until public and private records are so cluttered that nobody can sort them out. Our organization has successfully protected from rapacity the most precious old-time official records, dating back to 1737, without any flummery and simply an organization declaration adopting a name and that the officers shall be a president, a vice president and a secretary-treasurer, meetings subject to call, to be conducted according to sensible usage. Our aim has been to retain and protect what our county of historic value and we have done it. We do not need membership numbers; we do not need dues; and, we do not meet when there is no need just to talk over old history such as whether the winter of 1673 was colder than the winter of 1930 or whether the steeple of the Nazarite Church was taller than the municipal flag-pole in the pre-Civil War days. The old officers are still holding their positions—they get no salaries and pay their own bills when they attend banquets, locally or elsewhere. At the last meeting on February 2, 1930, we selected to honorary membership Prof. C. H. Kamman, formerly of Bloomington, and Dr. T. H. Schlarman, who is the author of a voluminous book of 569 pages entitled "From Quebec to New Orleans."

The officers of the Association are:

President—The Undersigned.

Vice President—Dr. E. A. Woelk.

Secretary-Treasurer—Prof. E. W. Plegge.

Every bit of which is respectfully submitted this eighth day of May, 1930.

T. Nick Perrin, *President.*

PROGRAM

Thirty-first Annual Meeting Illinois State Historical Society, Auditorium, Centennial Memorial Building, Springfield, Illinois, May 8–9, 1930

ORDER OF EXERCISES

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION, MAY 8, 1930—2:30 O'CLOCK

John H. Hauberg, Vice President of the Society, Presiding.

Address—The Illinois Congressional Delegation and the Currency Question. L. Ethan Ellis, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J.

Songs—(a) Spring Joy (Charles Gilbert Spross); (b) Kashmiri Song (Amy Woodforde Finden) (With Dance Obligato by Carl E. Whitmer); (c) The Cry of Rachel (Mary Turner Salter); (d) The Holy City (Stephen Adams). Mrs. Ruth Beckett Denney, Springfield.

Address—John McLean and the County that Bears His Name. Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer, Member Illinois Senate, Bloomington.

Address—Judge David Davis. Harry E. Pratt, Urbana.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION, MAY 8, 1930—8:15 O'CLOCK

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, Presiding.

Invocation—Rev. Clark Walker Cummings, Springfield.

Songs—(a) Noon and Night (C. Hawley); (b) Cargoes (T. Dobson); (c) Pilgrim's Song (P. Tschaikowsky). Arnold L. Lovejoy, School of Music, Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington. Mrs. Vera Pearl Kemp, accompanist.

Annual Address—The Make-up of the Early Republican Party. Professor James Lee Sellers, Department of History, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Songs—(a) Nocturne (P. Curran); (b) Had a Horse (F. Korbay); (c) The Cowboy's Lament (O. Fox); (d) The Old Chisholm Trail (O. Fox). Arnold L. Lovejoy, School of Music, Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington. Mrs. Vera Pearl Kemp, accompanist.

Reception in the Illinois State Historical Library. Public invited.

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION, MAY 9, 1930

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, Presiding.

9:00—Directors' Meeting in the Office of the Secretary.

10:00—Business Meeting of the Society in the Auditorium of the Centennial Memorial Building.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION, MAY 9, 1930—2:30 O'CLOCK

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, Presiding.

Address—Chicago Under the French Regime. Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.

Address—Warsaw and Fort Edwards on the Mississippi. Miss Ruth Cory Aleshire, Plymouth.

Songs—(a) Hills (LaForge); (b) Nightingale Singing, Whippoorwill Winging (Gaul); (c) In Lovely Summer (Dell'Acqua). Miss Diamond Vadakin, Springfield. Mrs. Stuart Davis, accompanist.

Address—Russel Farnham, Astorian. Frank E. Brandt, Associate Editor, Rock Island Argus, Rock Island.

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PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

May 8-9, 1930

THE MAKE-UP OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PARTY

By Prof. James Lee Sellers
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Three-quarters of a century have elapsed since the founding of the Republican party. None who were pre-eminently active in that movement yet survive. The lapse of time has cooled the embers of party strife and bitterness. The events of those stirring days survive in contemporary records and as memories of stories related by a generation that is gone. Both of these sources enable us to appreciate the forces that were potent in shaping political destinies, but hardly do they ignite the emotions which move people to party battle. Those events are now so far removed that they may be examined and analyzed as a part of the great political experiment of democracy. We study the events of our political and social history with a hope of understanding more fully the functioning of a democratic society.

Our experiment in self-government has met many unforseen difficulties. Even the profound and judicious Father of our country did not foresee the necessity of political parties. And yet today we know that no democracy could exist without these important voluntary political cooperatives through which our self-government moves and has its being.

Our purpose is not to theorize upon the political institutions of our government but rather to select a few scenes and facts from the events related to the formation of a great political party. In a movement so vast—so complex—involving forces so all-impelling as to sweep with it a majority of a great nation—creating an organization which seems only to have reached its zenith after three-quarters of a century, there is subject matter for much reflection and data for a score of books. There is no expectation of covering adequately so vast a subject tonight, but, rather a hope that by cogitating a problem of first importance, we may perceive some of the forces and influences which were potent in the inception of this vast political movement. With whom or what class of people did this movement originate? What interests were compounded into this great political cooperative? How was the difficult process of unification effected? It is to these questions that the data which the speaker has selected is to be applied.

Political action upon various aspects of the slavery question had been agitated and debated for a quarter of a century before 1854. The Liberty Party of 1840 and the Free Soil Party of 1848 were definite attempts to launch the general question into National Politics. They failed to hit upon the form of the issues which would make a general and popular appeal to the public. The issue was too general—too devastating to Southern rights to appeal to the popular sense of justice.

It was not until the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was presented to Congress that a single aspect of the slavery question was segregated in such form as to make an acceptable political issue. The failure to make a political issue out of some phase of the slavery question was due to no lack of interest in the question on the part of the public, but rather, to the efforts of political leaders who appreciated that such a sectional issue would be suicidal to our National political parties.

The discussion of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in Congress set off a popular agitation which could not be controlled. On March 1, 1854, under the instigation of A. E. Bovay, a mass meeting assembled at the Congregational Church, Ripon, Wisconsin.[1] It was composed of Whigs, Free Soilers, and Democrats, "and was largely attended by members of both sexes and all parties for the sole purposes of discussion of principles and views. It was proposed, if the Kansas-Nebraska Bill should pass, to throw parties to the winds and organize a new party on the sole principle of non-extension of slavery."[2] A second meeting was suggested. This was called by Bovay for March 20th, to meet in the historical school house which now bears a tablet commemorating this memorable event. At this second meeting a local committee composed of three Whigs, one Free Soiler and one Democrat was selected.[3]

At this time the name for the movement was discussed. Bovay urged the name "Republican." "(1) Political Parties should have significant names," he said, "and this name is significant of the thing we wish to symbolize—Republica—the Common weal. It is suggestive of equality. (2) It was used by the party of Jefferson in its best and purest days when it was really the friend and not the enemy of the human race, and before it had left a hollow memory behind it. (3) But lastly—and in point of expediency—it is the cherished name with our foreign population of every nationality."[4]

The Republican movement spread rapidly. On June 9th, Sherman M. Booth, Abolitionist editor of the *Free Democrat,* published a call for a Republican mass state convention to meet at Madison, July 13, 1854.[5] The invitation was to "all men opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and to the extension and rule of the slave power . . . to take such measures as may be deemed necessary to prevent the future encroachment of the slave power, to repeal all compromises in favor of slavery and to establish the principles of freedom as the rule of the state and National Governments. The time has come for the union of all free men for the sake of freedom. There is but

[1] There is no intent to present a case for local priority of claim to the first Republican meeting. The date of the first Ripon meeting is usually erroneously stated as February 28th, because most authors have used the date of the publication of the call in the Ripon *Herald* (Tuesday) February 28, 1854, "for a meeting at 6:30 on Wednesday evening of this week." Recopied in the *Tribune and Leader Press*, LaCrosse, Wisconsin, May 12, 1929.

[2] O. M. Thompson, *Political History of Wisconsin*, (Milwaukee, 1900) p. 110.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* 111.

[5] *Ibid.* 112.

one alternative, we must unite and be free, or divide to be enslaved by the praetorian bands of the slaveholders and their Nebraska allies."[6]

This Convention was presided over by the Reverend John Walworth of Green Bay, who called the meeting to order "in the name of God," and gave as the keynote a denunciation of slavery as "the sum of all villanies." Conspicuous in this gathering were moral Abolitionists, Garrisonian Abolitionists, Hunker Democrats, and Religious enthusiasts.[7] The platform endorsed the name Republican; and proposed to work toward the following objects: (1) To bring administration of the government back to first principles. (2) Restore Kansas and Nebraska to the position of free territories. (3) To repeal and entirely abrogate the Fugitive Slave Act. (4) Restrict slavery to states in which it exists. (5) Prohibit admission of any more slave states. (6) Exclude slavery from the territories and refuse to acquire any more slave territory. (7) Support no man for office unless committed to the above principles.[8]

The movement was indigenous throughout the Northwest. At Jackson, Michigan, February 22, there was held a convention of Free Democrats which had nominated an Anti-Nebraska ticket consisting chiefly of Free Soilers. It was soon apparent that the movement should be more inclusive and this ticket headed by K. S. Bingham withdrew and the supporters assembled with all Anti-Nebraskans in a Republican Convention at Jackson, July 6, 1854.[9] Here a state ticket consisting of five Whigs, two Free Soilers and two Democrats was nominated. Bingham, the nominee of the Free Democratic Convention of February 22d, again headed the ticket. He had been Democratic speaker of the state assembly and member of Congress.

In Illinois the opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act was strong but the situation was complicated by the influence of Douglas, plus Conservatism and pro-slavery sympathy within the state. The opposition forces were not ready to discard their existing political affiliations. The Abolitionist element headed by Owen Lovejoy adopted the name Republican and had a convention in October, 1854, but the political leaders were afraid to lend countenance to this movement.[10] The Whigs joined with Anti-Nebraska Democrats to elect Lyman Trumbull to the United States Senate in February, 1855, but they had not yet assumed the name Republican."[11]

It was in the election of 1856 that the Republican party really got under way. The Anti-Nebraska elements, for the most part, got together under the name Republican and the discordant elements began to fuse into a united body. The Whig party disappeared by indorsing Fillmore, the Know-Nothing candidate. It is frequently assumed that the Republican Party consisted of the Whig personnel with a new name.

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[6] *Ibid.* (Quoted from The *Free Democrat*, June 9, 1854.)
[7] *Ibid.* 113.
[8] *Ibid.* 114-115.
[9] *Albany Weekly Journal*, July 15, 1854.
[10] John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1890) vol. 1. 385.
[11] *Ibid.* 387-89.

This is far too simple a description of the transformation. There was a general realignment within parties. A large number of conservative Whigs went into the Democratic Party and a large number of Democrats became conspicuous in the new movement.

The Call for the preliminary Republican National Convention to meet February 22, 1856, was signed by five chairmen of the State Republican Committees.[12] Of these, A. P. Stone of Ohio was a former Democrat; J. Z. Goodrich of Massachusetts had been a Whig; David Wilmot of Pennsylvania a Democrat and Free Soiler; Lawrence Brainard of Vermont a Whig and Free Soiler; William White of Wisconsin an Abolitionist. Francis P. Blair, the great Jacksonian journalist, was Chairman of this Convention. Among the prominent prospective candidates for the Republican nomination were Salmon P. Chase, Seward, McLean, Banks, Wilmot, Benton and Julien. Of these seven, four had started their official careers as Democratic politicians and Julian had been primarily identified with the Free Soil movement.[13] Fremont, the standard bearer of the party, had been a Free Soil Democrat.

The party still encountered opposition from political leaders in a few pivotal states. Forty-one members of the Pennsylvania state legislature called for a "convention of fellow citizens to devise a plan of united action for opposition to the plan and policy of the National Administration." They proposed a combination ticket and designated their convention as an "Anti-National Administration State Convention."[14] The editor lamented this independent course of action and urged that an open assumption of Republicanism would not only be more logical but more successful. This convention, under the presidency of John Covode, announced its protests and half Republican policies as well as a Union ticket.[15] The leaders evidently felt that Republicanism was too strongly tainted with abolitionism to be palatable to the majority of Pennsylvania voters. New Jersey, likewise, had an opposition ticket instead of a Republican State ticket.

The political leaders of the opposition in Illinois were slow in accepting the name and banner of the new party. O. H. Browning wrote Senator Lyman Trumbull, "We wish if possible to keep the party in this state under the control of moderate men—and conservative influences, and if we do, the future destiny of the state is in our own hands and victory will inevitably crown our exertions; on the other hand, if rash and ultra counsels prevail all is lost."[16] Browning attacked the problem of reconciling "both the Know-Nothings and Germans to act with us." The drafting of acceptable resolutions for the Bloomington Convention proved difficult but possible.[17]

In Wisconsin there was less reason for the party to speak in guarded phrases. The Republican State Convention of June 4, 1856,

[12] *Bradford Reporter* (Towanta, Pa.) Jan. 26, 1856.
[13] *Ibid.* March 8, 1856.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Ibid.* March 26, 1856.
[16] T. C. Pease and J. G. Randall, "Diary of O. H. Browning" in *Illinois Historical Collection.* 20:237.
[17] *Ibid.*

adopted unanimously resolutions introduced by John F. Potter. These resolutions, among other things, declared "The great and only issue which divides the political parties of this Nation is that of freedom or slavery"; Freedom and rights of all persons should be recognized and closely guarded by the General Government in all Territories of the United States; "the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 is a violation of the Constitution, an outrage to civil and religious liberty and ought to be repealed without delay."[18]

Meantime the situation in Pennsylvania and New Jersey worried the National Committee. E. D. Morgan, the chairman, wrote Gideon Welles: "We are exerting ourselves to raise a fund of $25,000 to carry Pennsylvania."[19] The chairman authorized $5,000 upon his own account and within a week was "attempting to raise an additional $25,000 for Pennsylvania conditioned upon the election of Fremont."[20] Despite all efforts for a Union ticket Fillmore shared the opposition vote against Buchanan and the latter carried these two conservative states. However, Buchanan's victory in Pennsylvania was attained only by real effort. Edmund Ruffin of Virginia wrote in his Diary, "I have heard from Fisher and it was repeated today that enormous sums of money were spent in Pennsylvania from New York and a good deal from the Democrats of New England, to buy votes in Pennsylvania and which turned the vote of that state. The victory over Freemont and Abolitionism, if thus gained, is worth less than I had formerly estimated."[21]

The loss of Pennsylvania and New Jersey made a strong impression upon the Republican leaders and was a prime consideration in the party strategy for the succeeding campaign. Organized Republicanism was most radical in the Northmost states and especially in the Northwest where the foreign element was strong. The opposition tempered into conservatism in the central and border states and disappeared completely but little beyond the border, or perhaps manifested itself in a very mild and minor opposition which masqueraded under a banner of Americanism.

In Wisconsin the Republican victory was complete and a combination of facts and events provoked unusual and emphatic expressions of policy from the state leaders. The State Supreme Court had attempted to nullify the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, declaring the Federal Act unconstitutional, by issuing a series of writs in behalf of Sherman M. Booth, who was convicted under the act, for the Glover rescue. Booth was an Abolitionist editor and early Republican leader of considerable influence. He was determined to make the state, through the action of the party, sustain the state court. The position of the party was clearly exhibited in the attempt of the Republican Legislative Caucus to select a United States senator in January 1857.

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[18] *Daily State Journal* (Madison) June 5, 1856.

[19] *Gideon Welles Collection of Papers*, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Vol. 40, October 22, 1856.

[20] *Ibid.* October 27, 1856.

[21] Edmund Ruffin *Diary*, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, vol. 1, 46.

The Caucus set up the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions as a test of the party rectitude of the Candidates.[22]

If the Republican Legislative Caucus of Wisconsin was representative of the party within the state, a week of caucusing and voting gave a pretty clear picture of its elements. The former Whigs and the conservative element supported the candidacy of Timothy O. Howe, who was outspoken in his opposition to the nullifying doctrine. The abolitionists and radicals led by Booth supported E. D. Holton and M. M. Jackson. The former Democrats voted for J. R. Doolittle and E. A. Randall. These three groups each contained roughly one third of the Caucus strength. The numerical advantage was slightly in favor of the first group and yet in the end the Doolittle forces captured the prize.

The votes in the election of 1856 show that the Democrats had lost the support of the majority of the voters. Yet there was a large conservative vote, chiefly toward the border, which, although opposed to the Democratic position, refused to join the Republican ranks. This vote constituted twenty per cent of the total and might be decisive in future elections.

The next four years witnessed important changes within political parties. The rift within the Democratic ranks made certain the success of the Republicans in 1860. Immediately after the election of Buchanan in 1856, Republican leaders began laying plans for the next battle. William M. Chase of Rhode Island urged the establishment of a party press in Washington.[23] Welles had prepared an address to the public which was to be issued by the Chairman of the National Committee immediately after the 1856 election.[24]

The four states carried by Buchanan which seemed within reach of the Republicans were Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The additional votes of the two Western states alone would not be sufficient to carry the party to National victory. Moreover Douglas carried the Illinois Legislature in the Senatorial election of 1858, and left this a doubtful state. It was necessary to win Pennsylvania and New Jersey in order to assure victory in 1860 and the strategy of the National Republican committee centered around this objective. The conservatism of these two states was voiced by J. W. Forney editor of Philadelphia Press. "The result in the recent Presidential contest placed New Jersey in the front ranks of those states who unitedly formed the frowning bulwark against the onward progress of that furious tide of fanaticism and folly which at one time threatened to engulf the Union. . . . She was beset by all the hoards of itinerant orators sent forth by the North and East, money was freely used to corrupt, but in spite of all efforts New Jersey was too firmly planted in the faith to be moved."[25] A few weeks later the same editor designated Americanism as "a con-

[22] The author has treated this topic in an article, "Republicanism and State Rights in Wisconsin," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 17, 213-229.

[23] Welles *Papers*, Mss. Div. Lib. Congress, vol. 40. Chase to Welles, Feb. 6, 1856.

[24] *Ibid.* November 10, 1856.

[25] *The Press*, (Philadelphia) August 10, 1857.

glomerate compound which is constantly changing its form," and Republicanism, "an aggregate of abolitionist hatreds and fanaticisms."[26]

To counteract these views, William M. Chase, Secretary of the Republican National Committee, proposed to publish a condensed edition of Helper's *Impending Crisis.* "It contains unanswerable facts and figures showing the superiority of free over slave labor . . . a work of this kind circulated thoroughly throughout Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois will work wonders among the Democracy. What say you it will do in York, Bucks, Chester, Banks, Montgomery and Northampton Counties in Old Pennsylvania?"[27]

The Republicans were jubilantly conscious of the significance of Douglas' breach with Buchanan over the Lecompton Constitution in December 1857. Senator Dixon of Connecticut wrote Welles, "The Speech of Douglas I cannot but regard as the most important event of the day. . . It will break up the Democratic Party."[28].....

Preston King who analyzed political events very accurately wrote Welles, "many Northern Democrats will vote with the Republicans. I think the final blow which will disorganize and disperse the Democratic Party has been struck."[29]

In 1858 under the conservative leadership of E. D. Morgan and Gideon Welles the Republican National Committee issued circulars to the state committees.[30] They sent out agents to watch the developments in Kansas.[31] They offered advice to congressmen and sent circulars to judicious persons. Welles seemed to be the chief literary aid and adviser to the chairman.[32]

While the committee was counselling conservatism, radical elements were taking extreme ground. The Maine Convention of June 25, 1857, adopted resolutions "advising a stronger vindication of state sovereignty on the part of the Free States."[33] As late as March 1859, Carl Schurz made at Milwaukee his famous speech entitled "State Rights and Byron Paine." This was enthusiastically received and his admirers endorsed his advocacy of Salmon P. Chase for the presidency, because the latter was a man of principles and they wanted no half way measures.[34]

This radicalism was of deep concern to the conservative leaders within Wisconsin as well as in the country at large. Timothy O. Howe wrote to J. H. Tweedy, National Committeeman for Wisconsin, "I look with unaffected concern in the last efforts to involve Wisconsin in the guilt of Nullification. I am sure the Republican party cannot carry that load, and I feel pretty sure you will not sanction the attempt.

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[26] *The Press,* (Philadelphia) August 28, 1857.

[27] 50,000 copies could be had for $10,000. Chase asked Welles to write Morgan his advice and also to send Chase a list to address for subscriptions. Chase to Welles November 13, 1857, Welles *Papers.*

[28] *Ibid.* December 15, 1857.

[29] *Ibid.* December 18, 1857.

[30] *Ibid.* March 30, 1858.

[31] *Ibid.* May 22, 1858.

[32] *Ibid.* May 28, 1858.

[33] *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield) July 1, 1857.

[34] Carl Schurz *Collection* Mss. Library of Congress. W. H. Brisbane to Schurz, April 11, 1859.

A doctrine which John C. Calhoun could not expound to the satisfaction of the American people, I feel pretty sure will not be readily received from the lips of Honorable Abram D. Smith nor from Mr. Carl Schurz. . . I must make an effort to clear the party from this new issue—else I must abandon the party."[35]

As the National Committee approached the campaign of 1860 it had before it the problem of the doubtful states. James E. Howard editor of the *North American and United States Gazette* of Philadelphia wrote to John Sherman, "We are capable of giving this state [Pennsylvania] to any proper candidate but not to an ultra one. Nothing but the infatuated and short sighted policy of forcing upon us an extreme man can jeopardize our success here. We protested against this rash course in 1856 and shall in 1860."[36]

The National Republican Committee met at the Astor House, New York City, December 21, 1859. It consisted of Representatives from each of the free states and five additional delegates from Virginia, Maryland, Missouri, the District of Columbia and Kansas territory. The immediate work before the committee was to draft a call for the Party Convention of 1860. The drafting of the call appears to have been a difficult matter. The *Tribune* reported, "The Committee was engaged in considering the form of the call up to a late hour last night, when it adjourned to nine o'clock this morning."[37]

The *Herald* drew the issue more clearly. "After being organized, a member spoke in favor of a call inviting men to the National Convention from all parts of the country. A strong opposition was made to this proposition, as many members favored a strict party call. One delegate said the great fault in the course of the Republican Party was the unnecessary agitation of the slavery question."[38] The following day the editor designated the call, "A very remarkable manifesto." "It was the result of great labor and much tribulation. It is brief but it embodies a volume of matter in regard to recent events and disclosures and touches the present alarming and threatening crisis of the slavery agitation and the movement afoot for the organization of a new presidential party upon a National platform."[39]

Further light is cast upon the committee proceedings by a letter of Senator Doolittle to his wife two years later. In a political discussion he wrote, "You know I drew the call for the Chicago convention, and for two days and nearly two nights made fifty speeches in committees in its defense. I labored as I never labored before to get the discordant elements of the Republican organization so bound together that we could get Pennsylvania and New Jersey into the Chicago Convention. They had no Republican Party in Pennsylvania nor in New Jersey. In the former it was the People's Party, in the other the

[35] J. H. Tweedy *Collection* Mss. Wisconsin Historical Society, April 11, 1859.

[36] John Sherman *Collection* Mss. Library of Congress, Vol. 9, Oct. 14, 1859.

[37] New York *Tribune*, December 22, 1859.

[38] New York *Herald*, December 22, 1859.

[39] *Ibid.* December 23, 1859.

Opposition party. I thought I should not be able to get the radical self-conceited Republicans to consent to invite into the convention any delegate from Pennsylvania or New Jersey and without them we might as well have had no Convention at all."[40]

The Call included by name "The Republican electors of the several states, members of the People's Party of Pennsylvania and of the Opposition Party of New Jersey, and all others who are willing to co-operate with them in the support of the candidates who shall be nominated."[41]

The Call was designated as "Comprehensive and liberal in its terms."[42] In Washington it was said "to relieve all points of embarrassment."[43]

This Astor House meeting of the National Committee may be regarded as the important event of that date in the history of the Republican Party. The Committee was won over to a liberal and tolerant policy. The more inclusive counsels prevailed, and high principle was seasoned with practical politics. James A. Briggs of New York in writing to John Sherman speaks of the Convention as the National Republican, People's Party and Opposition Convention. He advocated the strategy of union Republican meetings to discountenance the secessionist talk of the South.[44]

The New York *Times,* in commenting upon the call wrote "Whether it was so intended or not, we regard the Republican Call as a substantial repudiation of many of the false and dangerous doctrines and purposes which the language of their leading organs and some of their public men have encouraged their enemies to charge upon them. It avoids all ultraisms . . . presents no issues of principles or policies which can justly be regarded as hostile to the rights and peace of the Southern States. So far as it goes it is an auspicious opening of the campaign."[45]

The appeal of the committee to the Peoples Party in Pennsylvania was not without effect. A Peoples Convention was held at Harrisburg

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[40] J. R. Doolittle *Collection*, Mss. Wisconsin Historical Society, April 4, 1862.

[41] New York *Tribune*, December 23, 1859.

The full text of the *Call* continued, "and who are opposed to the policies of the present administration; to Federal usurpation and corruption and to the extension of slavery into the territories; to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into all the Territories of the United States; to the re-opening of the African slave trade, to any inequality of rights among the citizens; and who are in favor of immediate admission of Kansas under the Constitution recently adopted by its people; of restoring the Federal Administration to rigid economy, and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, of maintaining inviolate the rights of the states . . . and the integrity of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution and of the laws . . . against the conspiracy of sectional party to resist the majority principle as established in this government at the expense of its existance, are invited to send delegates. . . ." *Tribune*, Dec. 23, 1859.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Ibid.* December 26, 1859.

[44] John Sherman *Collection*, Mss. Lib. Cong. December 22, 1859.

[45] New York *Times*, December 24, 1859.

on February 22. A platform containing mild Republican doctrines was adopted and delegates to the Chicago Convention were named.[46] At Camden, New Jersey there was a coalition of the Americans with the Republicans in the nomination of candidates for local offices.[47].

The National Committee as the functioning organ of the party was superseded by the assembling of the Chicago Convention on May 16th. The Committee's carefully directed course for the party was caught in the Convention typhoon of conflicting currents of popular opinion and antagonistic ambitions of leaders. All that happened there is not yet told. The wording of the platform and the selection of candidates have long fixed the attention of historians—we have but a footnote to contribute to this oft written story.

The second Resolution of the Platform reaffirmating and quoting the Declaration of Independence, that, "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness . . . ," was a compromise forced upon the Convention by the conduct of Joshua R. Giddings. The Committee on Platform had omitted the quotation from the Declaration in Resolution Two of the Platform of 1856. Giddings moved its insertion as a separate Resolution. Carter replied for the committee that the substance of that resolution was found in Resolution Eight. It was true that part of it was contained in the Eighth Resolution but not the portion declaring liberty to be an inalienable right of all men.

Giddings gave an account of this conflict in a letter to his son-in-law, G. W. Julian. "The great mass of the convention was right but a few wire-working dough-faced, tricksters managed to get the committee arranged so as to strike out from the Philadelphia Platform [1856], the inalienable rights of man. I moved to insert it. Carter who led the dough-faces replied, saying it was *in the Platform,* and under that impression they voted down my proposition. I took my hat and left the convention. The next morning Mr. Curtis of New York moved to insert it in another place and it was almost unanimously carried."[48] In the insertion of Gidding's Amendment as a part of Resolution Two the radical expression of principle was considerably softened by the second part of the Resolution.[49]

Another contest between radicals and conservatives which involved the support of the doubtful states concerned the Resolution on foreigners. Carl Schurz insisted that the Party should indorse the existing United States laws. Thomas H. Dudley of New Jersey, remembering the coalition with the American Party in his own state, opposed such a plank. Schurz had his way in the form of the Fourteenth Resolution, but on promise to Dudley that he would campaign in New Jersey and win enough German votes to make up for the loss of the American Allies.[50]

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[46] *Illinois Weekly Journal,* February 22, 1860.

[47] *Camden Weekly Journal,* March 16, 1860.

[48] Giddings—Julian *Collection,* Mss., Lib. Cong., May 25, 1860.

[49] E. Stanwood, *History of Presidency* (Cambridge, 1924) vol. 1, 291-2.

[50] Carl Schurz *Collection,* Mss., Library Congress, Dudley to Schurz, August 24, 1860.

The resolution upon Tariff was a strong concession to Pennsylvania and New Jersey. James M. Cooper of Pittsburg was in constant correspondence with John Sherman upon this point.[51]

The nomination of Abraham Lincoln has had so many explanations that the speaker would hesitate to unveil a new Warwick. It may not be amiss to emphasize in a brief array of evidence the part played by these doubtful states in this significant decision. When the convention met there was no question as to both the popularity and unpopularity of William H. Seward. The delegations of New York, Michigan and Wisconsin were instructed for him and he could count upon the majority of the New England delegates. Senator Dixon wrote to Welles in January, "A singular state of feeling exists relative to his [Seward's] prospect at Chicago. I do not know a single Senator, except his colleague, who desires his nomination, or who thinks it would be wise or prudent. Still almost every Senator believes he will be the chosen man."[52]

James T. Sherman of New Jersey did not like the Wisconsin endorsement of Seward. He wrote to J. H. Tweedy, the Veteran Committeeman, "It is conceded by all judicious and well advised men that Mr. Seward's Nomination will revive the divisions of 1856 in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and will be fatal to us in those states. I have great opportunity for knowing the feeling in Philadelphia and information for the whole of Pennsylvania concentrates there. I am sure that the whole of their Congressional delegation (except perhaps Mr. Cameron) are united and earnest in this opinion, and their candidate for Governor, Mr. Curtin, is exceedingly anxious, fearing that Seward's nomination would render his own election hopeless. . . His (Curtin's) election is necessary to our success in November. I dislike very much to make such statements because if Seward shall be nominated we must take them all back."[53]

". . . The Candidate must be a true Republican and a conservative. He must be able to carry Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Judge Dayton is the man."[54]

A week before the delegates gathered at the Wigwam, James A. Briggs wrote John Sherman, "New Jersey is *Praying Ground.* There is a terribly strong feeling here against the nomination of Seward, especially among the Barnburners and Radical Democrats. He ought not to be nominated."

"How did it happen?", wrote Julian to Giddings, "that Chase made so poor a show? Why were the Chase men, and you, I suppose, among them, opposed to Seward? I was for Chase and Seward was my second choice, though I was not enthusiastic because of his speech in the Senate. I have, however, gotten excited since hearing of the

[51] John Sherman *Collection,* Mss., Lib. Cong., April and May, 1860, vol. 13.

[52] Welles *Papers,* Mss., Lib. Cong., January 4, 1860.

[53] J. H. Tweedy *Collection,* Mss., Wis. Historical Soc.

[54] John Sherman *Collection,* Mss., Lib. Cong., vol. 13, May 5, 1860.

general combination to crush him, especially upon the part of the dough-faced Republicans of this State and Pennsylvania."[55]

Gidding's reply is of interest. "The reason that Chase was so soon dropped was that his leading friends appointed by his request wanted to substitute Wade for him, and gave out notice as soon as we reached Chicago that we were to give Chase only a complimentary vote and then go for Wade."[56]

"Strong objections were urged against Seward. His friends disgusted members by the constant assertions that . . . they could buy up the doubtful states. . ."[57]

"Indeed," wrote Giddings, "Lincoln was selected on account of his location and not from any objection to Seward or Chase, because of being a western man located in Illinois, he was supposed to be able to carry that state and Indiana and was acceptable to Pennsylvania. It is also true that some of the dough-faces seemed to think him more popular, because his anti-slavery sentiments had been less prominent."[58]

Here our narrative must be cut short. A few comments upon the early Republican movement may be ventured. The movement germinated among the masses. It was discouraged rather than encouraged by the majority of responsible politicians. Because of its popular origin as a protest movement it lacked a united positive character and policy. It took on at first a variety of radical expressions under the irresponsible leadership of abolitionists. Because of its wide spread support, politicians were bound to recognize it and to attempt to organize this support to secure control of the government.

The problem of unification was difficult because the positions of the various opposition groups were diverse. However it was logical that the political organizers should tend to accept a conservative program. The conservatives were between the Radical Republicans and the Democratic Party and could choose, in case a radical program was adopted by the Republicans, whereas the Radical Republicans had no organization further to the left with which to affiliate. By 1860 the party organization had come into the hands of practical experienced political leaders who saw, clearly, the logical course for the party in its call for a convention, its platform, and its selection of candidates. The Chicago platform and nominations were a logical culmination of their work.

However one other aspect of this early party history is significant. The radicalism of the early Republican movement could not be lived down in a moment. The sweeping condemnations of Southern society by Owen Lovejoy, the first outstanding Republican leader of Illinois, by Sherman M. Booth, by William A. White, who campaigned with Frederick Douglas, by Carl Schurz and Byron Paine in Wisconsin; and the utterances of such conspicuous Republican leaders as Seward, Sum-

[55] Giddings-Julian *Collection*, Mss., Lib. Cong., May 21, 1860.
[56] *Ibid.* May 25, 1860.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.*

ner, Chase and Hale, had made a deep impression upon the South. The south had come to know Republicanism as identified with these men.

The majority of the Northern people were not ready to wage unrestricted warfare upon the South and had cast their lot with the Republican Party because it had accepted a more conservative policy and leadership. The South believed the Republican control meant an attack upon its institutions, because the earlier leaders, men who were still in the party, had said so. They could not appreciate the transition that had and was taking place in the party. Many Northerners believed that the Southerners wilfully misquoted and refused to understand their purposes.

It is hardly reasonable to hold that the majority of the people, either North or South were setting up phantom excuses for dissolution of the Union. Is not a part of the explanation of this great tragedy of secession to be found in the transition within the Republican Party? This transition, of which neither the North nor the South was fully aware, gave each side a set of facts on which to misjudge and condemn the other.

A HISTORY OF THE CHICAGO DELEGATION IN CONGRESS, 1843–1925*

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The object of the following study is to observe as individuals and as a group the delegates who have represented the city of Chicago in the federal congress from 1843 when the first representatives were seated through the sixty-eighth congress adjourning in March, 1925. It aims first to examine the background out of which the seventy-eight senators and representatives have come, the educational, occupational and political equipment which they carried with them and the reaction of these individuals thus equipped toward the problem of government. It may thus be called a laboratory exercise in the process of legislation in which the reagents used are the members of the delegation and the specific questions which they have been called upon to answer in the course of their service.

The plan of the work has been to follow an examination of group background by a study of group reaction toward selected problems of national interest during the period discussed. Slavery, reconstruction, currency, the railroads and the trusts have been successively treated and the local attitude toward each pictured in an effort to give a cross-section of opinion on these problems. Proceeding from the general to the local situation, certain phases of business regulation have been noted, followed by a chapter on matters of peculiar local interest. This procedure from the general to the specific, from the national to the local, has been found useful in indicating the relative importance of the two types of problems which have faced the delegation. This study completed, a final chapter attempts to estimate the activity of the delegation and to evaluate the character and ability of certain of its outstanding members.

CHAPTER I

THE ACTORS

Knowledge of a group entails a study of its members. It is a commonplace that background, training and experience color and condition normal activity. Add such ingredients as economic interest, sectional bias and party affiliations in a more or less judicious mixture, and the resultant is the political animal that is man. This complex creature is not noted for its stability since its components vary in strength with

* Footnotes are numbered consecutively for each chapter and placed at the end of the chapter.

individuals and with situations. This very instability, this shifting attitude before altering circumstances, makes even more essential a knowledge of the environmental factors contributory to observed actions. The following pages describe the equipment of education and business and political experience brought to the governmental problem by seventy-eight individuals who represented Chicago at Washington between 1843 and 1925. They offer, in a word, a glimpse at the raw material of statecraft.

Examination of the birthplaces of the group gives results to be expected of representatives of a new city in a new land.[1] Twenty states and nine foreign countries contributed to the total, exhibiting at once the tendency of the old world to seek the new and of the new to seek the horizon. These separate trickles of migration uniting in a common center portray a desire to be rid of European restraints and a craving for freer opportunity in a developing country. Together they form a footnote to the chapter of the new *Völkerwanderung* of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Chicago contributed the largest quota, followed by downstate Illinois. Next come New York, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, indicating that most of the American influx came from the north and east. It is significant also that few offshoots of the "new" immigration have as yet mounted the political ladder to the level of the national legislature, the majority of the sixteen foreign-born delegates claiming nativity in Great Britain, Scandinavia and the older Germanic states.

The group attained a rather high educational level, considering the status of learning in the country as a whole during the long period covered.[2] Forty-one reached a collegiate grade and sixteen took graduate or professional training after a college or university course. Fourteen confessed to the limitations of an elementary education, one was schooled by private tutors, one "never attended school," and six neglected to record their scholastic attainments. These figures are subject to qualifications. The term "college" is an elastic one and it is not always possible to draw the line between a self-dubbed higher institution and a preparatory school. Furthermore, the content of the term itself has changed. The Harvard that made George E. Adams (Rep.) a Latinist and linguist in 1860 is no more the Harvard that conferred the Ll. B. degree on Morton D. Hull (Rep.) in 1892 than the Yales of Carter Harrison, 1845 (Dem.) and of Medill McCormick (Rep.) are identical. The same distinctions must be made on the planes of secondary and elementary education. And in the last analysis an "education" is no more a guarantee of success in politics and statesmanship than in any other line of endeavor. William E. Lorimer (Rep.), the "blonde boss" who never went to school, commanded the political destinies of men with university degrees. And Lyman Trumbull (Rep.), a leading candidate for statesman's laurels, was not a college man. This is not intended, however, to belittle the value of education as a preparation for public service. The University of Illinois and Union College of Law undoubtedly helped to make James R. Mann (Rep.) the delegation's most constructive legislator and keenest critic; and it may be

that the University of Virginia increased James Hamilton Lewis' (Dem.) vocabulary. Altogether the group fared quite well in the matter of book learning and in addition carried with it a deal of native ability sharpened into acuteness by the rough-and-tumble of local politics to be considered later.

Occupational background offers a bewildering variety of experience strongly tinctured by the law, which has ever in American life offered the broadest road to political preferment.[3] Thirty-nine members claimed this as their profession, followed by ten merchants, four contractors, four newspapermen and three manufacturers. Many other types are represented by one or more individuals: advertiser, clerk, housewife, labor leader, liquor dealer, school-teacher and theatrical man. Any attempt at occupational classification is more or less arbitrary and the attached table aims merely at grouping according to what was evidently the dominant economic activity. The lines cross and recross and lead into each other. The would-be jurist teaches school while reading Blackstone, the lawyer becomes a corporation counsel, prosecuting attorney or railroad director. The successful stone merchant and contractor become bankers. The faithful party worker catches a plum when the tree is shaken. Finally all are bitten by the political bacillus and in many cases a former life-work becomes merely a means of gratifying a taste for public office or an urge to public service. The situation is further complicated by the comparatively large number whose main life interest has been politics and who have spent years in climbing the ladder, with economic interests largely secondary. In fact, men of means with a desire for office and the professional politician make up at least a third of the entire number. With these qualifications a study of the background of occupation is still valuable in laying another brick in the basis of group experience, for varying interests made for latitude of ability and of problems attacked by the delegation.

It is next desirable to examine some of the ways in which the members have knocked at the door of political opportunity and had it opened. Again one is impressed by the variety of individual and group political experience.[4] The table attempts to give as complete a picture as possible, and presents a composite view of the delegation's experience rather than an individual record as in the preceding cases. It shows that the majority have arrived in congress after an apprenticeship in one or more minor offices requiring strong party connections, considerable regularity and equal activity in the party interest. It has been impossible to discover the exact participation and factional connections of many individuals in local affairs. The fact, however, that they secured and held local and state offices in a city not the least notorious for its municipal politics confirms the indications of available facts. Neither can it be inferred because a person held no office, or because the records show no sign that he was active in the party (there are nineteen such), that he became a congressman overnight. Fortunately or unfortunately, much party work never finds the printed page, and the records of yoeman service are not always found in public office. Turning to the known data, we find that the most common type of position held prior to a

congressional election was a non-political place under the city government, directly dependent, however, on party activity and availability. Twenty-seven holders of such offices as police justice, commissioner of public works, city or county attorney, county clerk, superintendent of streets, postmaster and deputy coroner later became congressmen. These were followed by state legislators who were advanced to carry on their work in a larger sphere. Four had served in both houses, nine in the upper alone and ten in the lower. The city council furnished the training ground for the largest single group, twenty congressmen having added to their stock of political lore as aldermen. Party managers, including ward bosses and officials in the state and county political organizations, come next with twelve, followed by county commissioners and constitutional convention delegates. Another interesting and important fact is the number of cases in which political apprenticeship has extended through more than one grade of minor office. Six were both state legislators and local administrators; seven served in both council and legislature; six other aldermen were active in party management and three held administrative office; three were both county and administrative officers. These combinations indicate that the common council was the most usual place for an individual to begin a career reaching beyond the confines of his own particular ward.

The facts cited indicate considerable familiarity with the technique of a certain sort of political activity. The question inevitably arises as to the efficiency of such training as a preparation for participation in national legislation. Another query concerns the ability of these men, schooled in state and local politics, to place the needs of nation and locality in proper perspective when transplanted to the larger arena. The curious-minded might further ask whether the whole group was typical of the soil whence it sprang. It is hoped that the following pages may throw some light on these problems.

This discussion of personnel may well be concluded by a few more detailed descriptions as a means of arriving at a clearer picture of the group and its components. First let us visualize the typical member, who might be constructed if legs and arms, education and experience could be drawn from some bin and synthesized into a congressman. He would be a man in the mid-forties,[5] born outside Chicago and drawn thither by wanderlust, business prospects or some foresight of the future of the town. His forty-odd years would have seen him through an education progressing past the high-school stage into the college and university. Some part of this schooling would probably have been devoted to the law, and he would be at least nominally a member of that profession, though the chances are that other interests had usurped a large portion of his attention before he reached Washington. Nevertheless, he would have a certain foundation of legal principles and patter.

His schooling finished and life-work started, he entered the field of local politics, and by industry, connections, good fortune or a combination of these, was elected to a minor administrative or legislative post. This he filled so ably as to endear him to the community or to those

who pulled the party strings. His reward was a transfer to a somewhat higher post where he in turn satisfied the people or the powers. As a final recompense for service rendered he was sent to Washington, where he stayed for about six years as a member of one of the houses of the federal legislature.[6] To his duties as a legislator he therefore brought a fair degree of education, a strong party allegiance and a considerable amount of political experience of a sort.

It may be interesting in conclusion to range our hypothetical individual alongside some of the flesh-and-blood members of the delegation. This will help to relate the average to the actual. Those chosen for this process are Adams, a man of independent means who entered politics from a sense of civic duty and party patriotism; Mann, the veteran of the delegation in length of service and its most useful member; and Lorimer, a professional at local politics who transferred his activities from Chicago to Washington and came to grief thereby.

Adams was born at Keene, New Hampshire, graduated from Harvard and studied at the Dane Law School at Cambridge. He practiced his profession at Chicago and managed the family estate for fifteen years before being elected to the state senate, whence he removed at the age of forty-three to the house of representatives. Quiet and reserved by nature, fond of languages and literature, he brought to his work a considerable knowledge and some political experience.[7]

Mann was born in Illinois, graduated from its State University and the Union College of Law in Chicago. As a young lawyer he identified himself with the village of Hyde Park and became its attorney. So ably did he serve that when Chicago absorbed the village he became the first alderman to represent the new ward. In the council he distinguished himself for honesty in an era of rampant municipal graft, rose to power in his party and went to Washington in 1897, aged forty-one, to spend there all his working days until his death in 1922.[8]

Lorimer was born in Manchester, England, came to this country at an early age and grew up without formal education. He worked in the stockyards and on the street cars, became a ward politician, police court constable, and superintendent of the city water office, after which he became a contractor. His strength was originally based on his ability to deliver the vote of certain southwest side wards on convention day. This was continually increased through his personal activity and the patronage which he came to control, and he was finally able to demand and receive from his party the nomination which sent him to Washington in 1895, aged thirty-four.[9]

These random illustrations tend to clothe the manikin with a semblance of reality. Between them they approximate the dimensions indicated as the average. With this introduction to the delegation as a whole and its typical member we now turn to study the way in which that group and its component parts reacted toward certain specific problems of national and local importance.

TABLE I—LENGTH OF SERVICE

31 served	1 term	
17 served	2 terms	
9 served	3 terms	The life of a congress is one term.
4 served	4 terms	
1 served	5 terms	Terms cut short by death or resignation are counted as full terms.
4 served	6 terms	
2 served	7 terms	
3 served	8 terms	
2 served	9 terms	
3 served	10 terms	
1 served	11 terms	
1 served	13 terms	Average—3.166.

TABLE II—NATIVITY

Chicago	15	Virginia	2
Illinois	9	Iowa	2
New York	10	Maryland	2
Massachusetts	4	Denmark	2
Ireland	4	England	2
New Hampshire	3	Bohemia	2
Vermont	2	Canada	2
Pennsylvania	2		

One Each: Austria, Baden, Connecticut, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Norway, Ohio, Rhode Island, Sweden, Wisconsin.

Total foreign: 16.

TABLE III—EDUCATION

Based on highest grade of institution attended, whether graduated or not.

College, university and professional school	41
High school and academy	15
Elementary	14
Privately educated	1
No schooling	1
No data available	6

TABLE IV—OCCUPATION

In cases where several occupations have been pursued, the dominant one has been selected for this computation.

Lawyers	39
Merchants	10
Contractors	4
Newspapermen	4
Manufacturers	3
Liquor dealers	2
Stone business	2

One each: Advertising, bookkeeper, clerk, housewife, insurance, labor leader, lumber dealer, plant superintendent, railroad executive, real estate, shipping, teacher, teaming, theatrical.

TABLE V—PREVIOUS POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The first column digests the official positions and political activity of the members as far as records are available. It records duplications where an individual held more than one position.

The second column indicates the more important types of duplication of activity where members have worked up through several types of minor offices.

		Combinations	
Non-political offices dependent on political activity:			
Judicial	6	Council and state legislature	7
Administrative	21		
Total	27		
State Legislature:		State legislature and local administrative	6
Upper house	9		
Lower house	10		
Both houses	4		
Total	23		
City council	20	Council and party management	6
Active in party management	12	Council and administrative	3
County commissioners	6		
Constitutional convention delegates	4	County and administrative	3
Mayor	2		
Secretary of state	1		
Town supervisor	1		
No activity, or none of record	19		

CHAPTER I—NOTES

[1] See Table II. The most useful source of biographical data is *A Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774-1911* (Washington, 1913), and the sessional directories after that date. The electioneering press and the mellifluous obituary are also helpful.

[2] See Table III.

[3] See Table IV.

[4] See Table V.

[5] The average age of seventy-five of the seventy-eight members at the opening of their service was 44.06 years. The extremes were twenty-eight and sixty-five.

[6] See Table I. The two-year congressional term has been used as the unit of measurement. This breaks one senatorial term into three congressional terms.

[7] *Biographical Congressional Directory*, 429; interview with Mrs. Mason Bross, daughter.

[8] *Biographical Congressional Directory*, 845.

[9] *Biographical Congressional Directory*, 817; *Chicago Times-Herald*, Feb. 10, 24, 1896; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 17, 1897.

CHAPTER II

EXPANSION AND SLAVERY

The autumn of 1843 saw Chicago's first representation at Washington with the arrival of two curiously contrasting and yet not dissimilar individuals. Stephen A. Douglas (Dem.),[1] Jackson Democrat, party wire-puller and minor office-holder, brought his five feet and a few inches to battle with the giants of the national arena. His companion was "Long John" Wentworth (Dem. and Rep.), Yankee lawyer-newspaperman, at once the "baby" and the giant of the house, trained by his experience in the rough-and-tumble of city politics to take his place in the larger sphere. These two faced weighty problems. Expansion and its dark shadow of slavery freighted discussion of Oregon and Texas with heavy meaning.[2]

Both participated in the Oregon debates. Wentworth's strongly jingoistic speech boded ill to Great Britain should that nation try to take any territory.[3] He later justified the legality of American claims on grounds of discovery, settlement and diplomatic agreements. He favored American action as "extending the area of freedom" and urged those who had recently voted for the annexation of Texas to show their good faith by "advocating all measures for repossessing Oregon."[4] Douglas' remarks foreshadowed the coming split between the two by carefully dodging the slavery question. They advocated forcible retention of the territory and contained a diatribe against Britain and a plea to exclude her from the west coast in the interest of securing American trade advantages in the Far East.[5] When the Texas question became acute Douglas introduced the resolution which finally accomplished annexation and was active in the debate which secured this result. He dwelt mainly on the constitutional and historical aspects of the matter and took broad-construction ground by urging that annexation was within the power of congress as a necessary concomitant of the power to admit new states.[6]

Annexation and war with Mexico were synonymous. The debates serve mainly to expose an intra-party split in the Illinois delegation by the introduction of the Wilmot proviso conditioning an appropriation to pay for ceded territory by forbidding slavery in the areas thus secured. Wentworth, a framer of the proviso, found himself its lone supporter in the delegation when it first came up.[7] The Wentworth-Douglas split was continued at the following session, the former this time carrying with him the two delegates from the northern part of the state in the vote on the proviso itself.[8] Douglas opposed it in a speech which was significant in view of his subsequent course:[9]

> if it should be thought best that the question in regard to the character of new territory to be received hereafter into the Union should be settled now, the most proper arrangement on that subject would be the adoption of the Missouri compromise line. As the issue now seemed, however, to be on the adoption or the rejection of the Wilmot proviso, he would give a few reasons why he should vote against it. He believed that this was not the proper time for any action on that subject. It would be time enough to declare whether the new territory should or should not be open to the existence of slavery when Congress should have to legislate for the government

of such territory. . . . Congress would be called on to create a territorial government for the annexed territory, and if a majority was opposed to the toleration of slavery there, they would have the whole question as completely within their control then as now.

If Congress should insert no prohibition of slavery in the territorial government, the people of the Territory, when it became a State or States, could decide for themselves whether slavery should or should not exist within their boundaries. . . . .

When the Oregon territorial bill came before congress Douglas voted for the proviso as applied to that territory, after he had tried to extend the line of the Missouri compromise as suggested above.[10]

After the Mexican war the slavery problem transferred itself to the territory thus acquired. The session of 1849-1850 witnessed the final major efforts of the great triumvirs of the senate, Clay, Calhoun and Webster. It also marked the rise to real senatorial power and dignity of the little western politician, riding the crest of a wave of struggle compounded of the reactions of territories and slavery and resulting in the compromise of 1850. After the oratory of the elder statesmen had reverberated into silence several proposed settlements of the problem were submitted.[11] The omnibus bill was reported May 8, 1850, from a select committee headed by Henry Clay which had replaced Douglas' territorial committee in charge of the matter.[12] The first part comprised two bills originally introduced by him, one admitting California and the other establishing territorial governments in Utah and New Mexico.[13] Douglas' main expression of opinion on the foredoomed omnibus reiterated his oft-repeated opinion that slavery[14]

and all other questions relating to the domestic affairs and domestic policy of the territories ought to be left to the decision of the people themselves, and that we ought to be content with whatever way they may decide the question. . . . I desire no provision whatever in respect to the institution of slavery in the territories. I wish to leave the people of the territories free to enact just such laws as they please in respect to this institution.

Shortly after, he voted with his colleague for what was virtually the Wilmot proviso as applied to Utah and New Mexico, in accordance with his instructions and against his convictions.[15] He supported the omnibus to the last and voted against the motion by which California was dropped from it.[16] The omnibus out of the way, matters moved more rapidly. Douglas immediately brought up his original California bill, which took its place among the final compromise measures.[17]

Wentworth's attitude toward the whole problem discloses an ever-widening breach between him and his democratic colleagues in both chambers. His consistent devotion to free-soil principles often caused him to make his bed with the lone whig member of the state delegation. In February he wrote:[18]

"Compromise," enslave one portion of our country for the sake of making another free, is what is aimed at. . . . California will be admitted with the W. P., unaccompanied by any slave state carved out of Texas or anything else, in spite of all the dough-face meetings got up to order in the large cities of the free states. . . . For myself, I am, as I have ever been, opposed to all *agitation* of this subject.

When the omnibus bill was reported he wrote that:[19]

Henry Clay led out his dromedary today and it came limping back into the senate with its back almost broken from the load. . . . The prospects

of Clay's bill are quite poor and its defeat would be sure if northern men individually would pull true . . . . they could admit California tomorrow, if they wished. But they do not want to do so. They want to make California drag through the organization of the other territories, so as to have slavery established there.

He expressed satisfaction at the failure of the omnibus[20] and when the separate bills came to the house devoted his energies to working for the principle of the Wilmot proviso.[21] The criterion guiding his action on the compromise bills was the question of freedom versus slavery. On those parts which he considered subversive of the peculiar institution (California and the district slave trade bill) he voted with his northern democratic colleagues, but when he considered that they were catering to the south by passing the territorial bills and the fugitive slave law he refused to be led astray.

Two facts are noteworthy in the foregoing. These are the sharp divergence of Douglas and Wentworth on the slavery question, and the firm devotion of each to his chosen shibboleth. Douglas advocated non-intervention with slavery in the territories with a tenacity which, he was later to argue, led him irresistibly toward the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the Freeport doctrine.[22] And Wentworth's equal tenacity in advocating free soil in the face of lack of supporting opinion in his district warned that canny politician not to run for renomination in 1850 and sowed the seeds of the discord which finally led to his break with the party which had sent him to congress.[23]

The compromise temporarily laid the specter of slavery, but the ghost would not down and it fell to Douglas' lot to revive the ugly wraith. A bill for the organization of Nebraska territory, changed by force of circumstances into the Kansas-Nebraska bill and enacted into law through his personal influence was fatal with import to its sponsor and to his party, and well-nigh disastrous to the nation on which he fastened it. The problem of responsibility and motive involved here presents one of the moot questions of American history, which has been treated, as Professor Channing aptly remarks, largely according to the prepossessions of the investigator for or against the man himself.[24] He assigns leading weight to practical factors in the territory and absolves Douglas from blame other than for failure to realize the possible consequences of his action in the unstable equilibrium of affairs, a blunder for which a prophet might be blamed, but for which a politician ought not to be held too strictly responsible.[25] Rhodes fathered a school of thought which brands Douglas' action as a definite bid for southern support in the next presidential nominating convention.[26] Professor P. O. Ray has written a volume to prove that "the repeal of the Missouri compromise in 1854 had its real origin in western conditions and particularly in the peculiar conditions existing in the State of Missouri: and that the real originator of the Repeal was David R. Atchison."[27] F. H. Hodder has argued that behind the introduction of the repeal was the desire to open the trans-Mississippi country by a Pacific railroad which would be tributary to Douglas' home section.[28] A. C. Cole interprets the action as an example of political opportunism finding in the resurrection of an old principle a chance at once to show "popular

sovereignty" in action and to open the western hinterland to railroads and settlement.[29]

"The National Capital was never so dull,—There is nothing of excitement, nothing of interest, here. . . ." So wrote Wentworth five days before the introduction of Douglas' bill and report on Nebraska.[30] The crucial clause of the bill provided that "When admitted as a state the said territory or any portion of the same shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as its constitution may prescribe at the time of its admission." This was the language of the Utah and New Mexico acts, was good popular sovereignty doctrine and seemingly not inconsistent with Douglas' frequently expressed opinion. The incendiary matter was in the report, where he propounded the theory that the measures of 1850 were designed not merely for the settlement of a particular difficulty, but

to establish certain great principles, which would not only furnish adequate remedies for existing evils, but, in all time to come, avoid the perils of a similar agitation, by withdrawing the question of slavery from the halls of Congress and the political arena, and committing it to the arbitrament of those who were immediately interested in, and alone responsible for its consequences.

From an analysis of the "great principles" he concluded that

the compromise measures of 1850 affirm and rest upon the following propositions—First: That all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories, and in the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, by their appropriate representatives, to be chosen by them for that purpose.

This was, of course, a virtual admission that the compromise of 1850 abrogated that of 1820.

Nevertheless he made, and seems to have intended, no definite move to repeal the Missouri compromise. Not until he was faced by a point-blank proposal to repeal that agreement, and by another equally blunt move to reaffirm it, was he forced to choose.[31] After a series of conferences[32] he introduced a new bill creating two territories and extending the laws of the United States to each, except the Missouri compromise, "which was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, and is hereby declared inoperative." Thus was the step taken which was to involve Douglas in years of effort to explain and justify an action which he had not contemplated and into which he was sorry to be forced.[33]

Repeal once accepted, he justified it by his long-cherished doctrine of local autonomy. A typically specious argument proved to his own satisfaction that the compromise of 1850 substituted for the geographical line between free and slave states "a great principle of self-government, which would allow the people to do as they thought proper." The adoption of the great principle, he contended, automatically "superseded" the geographical line.[34] After a long discussion he now discovered

that as to the territory covered by the Utah and New Mexico bills, there was an express annulment of the Missouri compromise; and as to all the other unorganized territories it was superseded by the principles of that legislation, and we are bound to apply those principles in the organization of all new Territories. . . . If this construction be given, it makes that

compromise a final adjustment. No other construction can possibly impart finality to it . . . . so far as the question of slavery is concerned, there is nothing in the bill under consideration which does not carry out the principle of the compromise measures of 1850, by leaving the people to do as they please, subject only to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. . . . The legal effect of this bill, if it be passed . . . . is neither to legislate slavery into these Territories nor out of them, but to leave the people to do as they please, under the provisions and subject to the Constitution of the United States. . . .

Backed by the administration and the south, he virtually dictated the progress of the bill,[35] which passed after he had summarized the arguments in a five-hour speech.[36]

Wentworth listened warily to the ground-swell of opinion at home before expressing himself, but finally his organ indicated his stand. He credited Douglas with consistency in supporting popular sovereignty, which he now wished to make universal by repealing the restrictions on slavery north of the Missouri compromise line. He asserted his own equally consistent adherence to the contrary principle contained in the Wilmot proviso save for the single instance of the compromise of 1850 when to secure the proviso on the west coast (i. e., a free California) he had tacitly acquiesced in the application of the Nicholson-Douglas doctrine in Utah and New Mexico, from which natural factors would exclude slavery. He hoped that if the pacification of 1850 were to be disturbed it would be in the direction of his own position rather than that of Douglas.[37] He voted with the whigs against it and wrote home that "All has been done in the power of man to defeat the bill, and a lasting record has been left behind to show that the bill was passed by no acquiescence, nor compromise, nor conciliation. It was passed because it could not be prevented."[38]

From the viewpoint of the delegation the Kansas-Nebraska episode is another incident in the Douglas-Wentworth series of home rule versus free soil. It presents a crisis in Douglas' career. For immediate ends he renewed his efforts to organize the trans-Mississippi territory, hoping that the slavery issue might remain quiescent. Trapped by the language of his own documents into admitting that one compromise nullified another, with the nimbleness of the politician eyeing the main chance, he adopted the position of the southern tempters as his own, seeing that here lay his hope of success, and reopened the slavery question. Seeking an argument to justify this step, he suddenly found his old doctrine of popular sovereignty pregnant with hitherto undiscovered meaning. By the sophistry of which he was a master he held, and perhaps even made himself believe, that his arguments of 1850 and earlier had really been devoted to proving his new position. The results vindicated the plausibility if not the historicity of his pleading. Thus was an old doctrine put to a new use which, like the new wine in the old bottles, was destined to bring disaster. There is slight reason to believe that Douglas foresaw the gravity of the consequences. The weight of evidence indicates that his action sprang from political maneuver which was seized upon by the south for partisan advantage and reluctantly but heartily agreed to by the author. That this action was freighted with disastrous results should not, it would seem, weigh too heavily in the

scales when assessing a man who was neither a seer nor a moralist, but an American politician.

The wind sowed in the Kansas-Nebraska bill was reaped in the whirlwind of the Kansas struggle.[39] By December, 1855, Kansas was the seat of rival governments and civil war and the Topeka or free-state faction had asked admission to the union. Early in March, 1856, Douglas' first report established to his satisfaction the legality of the territorial legislature and the irregularity of the Topeka organization.[40] Trumbull upheld the opposite view in a speech which Douglas asserted was a breach of courtesy because made in his own absence and in violation of an agreement.[41] Douglas introduced and defended the administration bill providing for the admission of Kansas.[42] He castigated Trumbull for speaking out of turn and then devoted his sarcasm to a detailed analysis of the minority report on the Kansas bill. He extolled the formula of non-intervention and local self-government as against the minority policy which insisted that "the domestic affairs and internal concerns of the Territories may be controlled by associations and corporations from abroad [the emigrant aid societies] . . . . as they may be able to gain the political ascendancy over the one or the other. . . ." He cited the debates of 1850 to prove himself consistent and ably parried the thrusts of Seward and Sumner.[43]

Trumbull's bill proposed to settle the Kansas difficulties by annexing Kansas to Nebraska and extending the laws of the latter over the united territory—thus solving the problem of warring laws, factions and officials by abolishing all the Kansas governmental machinery.[44] In another tilt he tried vainly to get his colleague to commit himself as to his own exact interpretation of the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Douglas, pressed to say whether or not he believed that a territorial legislature (i. e., the people of a territory) could exclude slavery prior to the formation of a state constitution, and whether a slaveholder had a right to take and hold slaves in a territory in the absence of municipal law on the subject, dodged the issue by asserting the judicial nature of such matters and his willingness to sustain the decision of the supreme court when rendered.[45] After the national convention the Toombs bill, more liberal to the free-state settlers than the Douglas proposal, was accepted as a substitute by the latter and passed the senate,[46] supported by Douglas and opposed by Trumbull, who had gone squarely on record in favor of congressional control of the territories.[47] In the house Woodworth contented himself with voting to admit Kansas under the free-state constitution and for a bill reaffirming the Missouri compromise.[48] The approaching presidential election prevented definite action and the debates and votes were mainly valuable as a forecast of the forthcoming battle.

In the autumn of 1857 Buchanan prepared to endorse the admission of Kansas under the pro-slavery Lecompton constitution. Again Douglas faced a dilemma. A senatorial election in the offing, he could ill afford to brook the anti-Lecompton sentiment rising in Illinois. His presidential ambitions in 1860 required that he retain his senate seat as a base of operations, but opposition to Lecompton would alienate the

southern group with which he had trained since the days of Kansas-Nebraska. He chose the more immediate evil as the greater one, broke with Buchanan on Lecompton and trusted to future events to give him the nomination in 1860.[49] He left for Washington breathing threats against Buchanan.[50] How would he justify this break from his party and his party's chief? Popular sovereignty again assumed the burden. Glorified in the compromise of 1850 and "interpreted" to justify the Kansas-Nebraska act, it was invoked once more, shall we say in behalf of the people of Kansas or of a senator seeking re-election? At any rate he dissented from the president's message and announced that he would shortly "vindicate the right of the people of the Territory of Kansas to be left perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way according to the organic act."[51]

Trumbull next attacked the message, denying the right of the territorial legislature to initiate a convention which should frame an organic act destroying the territorial government.[52] Douglas formally broke with the administration by pointing to the president's fundamental error in adopting the Lecompton proposal, and urging that the act of 1854 intended to insure the local settlement of all questions of domestic importance. He repeated Trumbull's argument that congress by failing to pass the Toombs enabling act had "expressly set the seal of its disapproval on any such unauthorized gathering" as the Lecompton convention, which could hence have drawn up no legal constitution. The crux of his position was that the people should have their way with the proposed constitution. "It is none of my business," he declared, "which way the slavery clause is decided. I care not whether it is voted down or voted up." Here was a rare sight, for both senators from Illinois were quoting the same texts on the same side of a public question.

December 18 Douglas introduced a bill similar to the Toombs bill with the added proviso that the entire constitution framed by the convention should be submitted to the people.[53] Early in February Buchanan recommended the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution.[54] Trumbull led the attack, stating the Republican position that congress had nothing to do with slavery in a state but could control it in the territories. He believed that congress itself might exclude the institution, or allow the people of the territory to do so. His concluding tirade against the Kansas-Nebraska bill showed that his opposition to Lecompton was based on entirely different grounds than that of Douglas. The territorial committee deserted Douglas and advocated the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. His minority report and speech accused the pro-slavery men of conspiring to thwart the popular will and make Kansas a slave state regardless of popular sovereignty.[55] Both senators voted against the bill and the battle shifted to the house. The English bill, "Lecompton junior," came out of conference with its proposal to resubmit the Lecompton constitution to popular vote, with the proviso that if it failed the state would lose some much-desired public lands and also be forced to wait until the legal quota of 93,000 population was reached. Douglas described this

as "a *bribe* to have them vote for it, accompanied by a *penalty if they did not,* of being obliged to remain out of the Union. . . . "[56] The united delegation opposed this measure, which became law only to be repudiated by Kansas.[57]

This episode illustrates the strange bedfellows made by politics. Douglas opposed the bill because it did not square with his fetish of popular sovereignty. Trumbull's opposing speech contained a denunciation of that very principle: he objected because congress did not take specific jurisdiction over slavery in the territories. And once again popular sovereignty was made to do duty, this time as the standard of a crusader tilting in the lists for the rights of Kansas people—and votes in Illinois.

Two main considerations color Douglas' congressional activity in the thirty-sixth congress (1859-1861), his presidential ambitions and, these being denied him, his efforts to preserve the fast disintegrating union.[58] Early in 1860 he answered an attack of Jefferson Davis by saying that he was not seeking the nomination, but would accept it provided the platform principles were sound. "But," he said, "in the event of your making a platform that I could not conscientiously execute in good faith if I were elected, I will not stand upon it and be a candidate."[59] This augured ill for party harmony in view of their diametrically opposite opinions. His next effort, which his enemies asserted was a bid for southern favor, was a speech on his own resolution instructing the judiciary committee to report a bill for the protection of every State and Territory of the Union against invasion by the authorities or inhabitants of any other State or Territory with intent to invade, assail, or molest the government, inhabitants, property, or institutions of any other State or Territory of the Union.[60] This, with the events of Harper's Ferry, gave him a text for attacking the Republican party which he dubbed a sectional faction formed for the extermination of slavery and operating by exciting sectional passions. He attacked the doctrine of uniformity in domestic institutions contained in Seward's "irrepressible conflict" speech, saying that it was[61]

> repugnant to the Constitution, subversive of the principles upon which the Union is based, revolutionary in its character, and leading directly to despotism if it is ever established.

His own idea of state-federal relations was that

> the power of the Federal Government should not be used either to extend or repress, establish or abolish, any domestic institution in any State; but that each State should be left entirely free to do just as it pleases, without any interference by the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to control the decision.

His final congressional pronouncement on popular sovereignty was made in answer to Davis' resolutions denying that either congress or a territorial legislature had the power, either by direct or "unfriendly" legislation to annul the constitutional right of a citizen to take his slave property into the common territories.[62] He used the debates of 1850 and his own position in 1854 and 1856 to prove his consistency in its support and argued that the party had departed from the original meaning of the term and, in the new doctrine enunciated by Davis,

demanded affirmative action by the federal government to protect slave property.

The Freeport doctrine lies somewhat beyond the scope of the present study but is interesting as it furnishes the final use to which Douglas put his doctrine of local autonomy. At Freeport, Illinois, in the senatorial campaign of 1858, he was forced by Lincoln to answer the question as to whether the people of a territory could by any lawful means exclude slavery prior to the formation of a state constitution. Hard pushed, he once more resorted to popular sovereignty. This completes the cycle of application and interpretation through which he carried the long-suffering dogma. Seldom if ever has a single political formula taken its exponent farther along more diversified paths than this one of local self-government carried Douglas in ways of public spirit, democratic political theory, personal ambition and refuge when hard pressed to justify himself for positions which he had assumed.

Secession and the election of Lincoln brought a shift of emphasis. Congress faced the alternatives of compromise and force. Douglas was a member of the senate committee which considered the ill-fated Crittenden resolutions, and worked consistently for compromise on any basis short of recognizing secession.[63] Trumbull, on the other hand, opposed any compromise whatever. The first test was on a resolution declaring that the constitution was ample in its scope and needed to be obeyed rather than amended. Trumbull supported this and Douglas dodged the vote.[64] Early in January, 1861, Douglas, in reporting the disagreement of the committee of thirteen, recounted the evils which had beset the country since 1850 when he asserted that the compromise of that year had brought the nation back to its original policy of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of the territories—forgetting to note, however, that it took him four years to make the discovery. He denounced secession, favored coercion of the seceding states and announced his own plan of compromise, which was essentially popular sovereignty put into legislative language, precluding congressional legislation on slavery in the territories and providing that until the population of any territory reached 50,000 the status of slavery should be as then determined, after which the people were to decide for themselves. Concluding, he reproached the Republican senators who to his mind were blocking action. It was a moderate speech, lacking his usual vehemence, but showing an honest desire to mend a bad situation and a willingness to go as far as might be in the direction of a peaceful settlement.[65] Trumbull entered the lists late in opposition to the revived Crittenden resolutions. He was violently hostile to this proposition and urged the restoration of the settlement of 1850. He would "never agree to put into the Constitution of the country a clause establishing or making perpetual slavery anywhere. . . ."[66] Douglas spoke for the efforts then being made to patch up a settlement.[67] Thus the Illinois members ended their joint career with points of view as widely separated as ever. J. F. Farnsworth's (Rep.) sole contribution to the discussion was an assertion that he was against any extension of the Missouri compromise line or the setting up of any arbitrary line of demarcation between free and slave

territory, and was for the union, the constitution and the enforcement of the laws.[68]

A summary involves the situation in the delegation and the attitudes of individuals. Regarding the first the most notable thing is the almost total lack of harmony among the leading members. The Douglas-Wentworth split in the house over the Wilmot proviso carried through the compromise of 1850 and into the Kansas-Nebraska act. Kansas-Nebraska gave way to the admission of Kansas and Wentworth departed for a time, but Trumbull arrived in the senate and the split continued in the new setting. Only on the Lecompton issue was the delegation united and even here unity was based on a diversity of ideas. The parting of the ways between the north and south found the two still at odds on the alternative between compromise and coercion.

In estimating individuals major emphasis should be assigned to Wentworth and Douglas, as Trumbull's participation prior to the outbreak of the civil war was of minor importance. The salient point of Wentworth's career on the slavery question was his devotion to the cause of freedom. Here he was at first in advance of his constituents, but later came to reflect the sentiment of his district. Douglas presents greater difficulty of classification. Played upon by the winds of politics and a prey to presidential ambitions, it is not easy to find a common denominator for his multiple positions. In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to find such a synthesizing element in the development of his attitude toward popular sovereignty, around which clustered much of the debate on the slavery and territorial questions. One of his proudest boasts was of his devotion to the principle of local home rule and some of his most spirited utterances were delivered while quoting himself on this subject. Candor compels admission of the truth of his contention, with a mental reservation to the effect that with Douglas the politician ideals were means to ends. Popular sovereignty was a garment which grew with the ambition of its wearer and accommodated itself to the contours of his necessities. Viewed from this angle his career loses some of the sinister implications which have hedged it about, the while it emerges from the scrutiny not as the spotless journey of an idealist along paths of high endeavor, but as the patient and sometimes devious plodding of an antebellum politician seeking the rewards of his profession.

CHAPTER II—NOTES

[1] Douglas removed from Quincy to Chicago in 1847. For purposes of unity his entire career has been included, as have those of John A. Logan (Dem. and Rep.) and Trumbull, who present a similar tendency.

[2] These pages aim to outline the salient points in the development of the slavery question leading to the civil war. The many thorough treatments of Douglas' career render a detailed study out of place in a work of this sort.

[3] This was on a resolution instructing the president to give the twelve months' notice for termination of joint occupancy. Jan. 24, 1844. *Congressional Globe* (Washington, 1834 ff.), 28th cong., 1st sess., 178; *ibid.*, appendix, 89.

[4] *Globe*, 28th cong., 2d sess., 199; *ibid.*, appendix, 135.

[5] "The great point at issue, the great struggle between us and Great Britain, is for the freedom of the Pacific ocean, for the trade of China and Japan, of the East Indies, and for the maritime ascendancy of all these waters." *Globe*, 29th cong., 1st sess., 258.

[6] *Globe*, 28th cong., 2d sess., appendix, 65ff. He later asserted that this was the first time that this claim was made. J. Madison Cutts, *A Brief Treatise on Constitutional and Party Questions, and the History of Political Parties, as I received it Orally from the Late Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois* (New York, 1866), 52.

[7] *Globe*, 29th cong., 1st sess., 1218. Wentworth wrote to his paper Jan. 10, 1849: "At the first session of the next [29th] congress, Mr. Polk proposed to buy a portion of Mexico. Not doubting that Mr. Winthrop or some other whig would offer the same amendment as had been included in the Oregon bill and not wishing to be behind the whigs in opposition to slavery extension, a few of us democrats held a consultation which resulted in making Mr. Wilmot the first man to offer it." *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Jan. 24, 1849.

[8] *Globe*, 29th cong., 2d sess., 425.

[9] *Globe*, 29th cong., 2d sess., appendix, 440. Note that earlier in the session he had moved the extension of the Missouri compromise line over the territory acquired from Mexico as a substitute for the Wilmot proviso. *Globe*, *ibid.*, 424.

[10] *Senate journal*, 30th cong., 1st sess., 562-4. Wentworth described the ingenious manner in which Douglas accepted the Wilmot proviso for Oregon without seeming to do so in his senate bill which was sidetracked in favor of the house measure: "Instead of the Wilmot Proviso Douglas put in what southern men try to stigmatize as the 'Cass Proviso.' The doctrines of Cass's letter, of last winter, were that the people of the Territory could regulate the matter of slavery themselves. Now the people of Oregon have forever prohibited slavery, as a part of their fundamental law. In other words, they have adopted themselves the Wilmot Proviso. The twelfth section of the Oregon bill, as reported by Judge Douglas, endorses the action of the people and continues the Wilmot Proviso in force there . . . ." *Chicago Daily Democrat*, June 21, 1848.

[11] Douglas contributed to this in a speech attacking the efforts of Webster, Seward and Calhoun and anathematizing the Wilmot proviso as a "nondescript, the like of which had never been seen, or heard of, in the political history of the country . . . . " while admitting that he voted for it in 1845 and again on the Oregon bill in 1848. *Globe*, 31st cong., 1st sess., appendix, 364-75.

[12] He opposed the appointment of the committee and urged the discussion of his own California bill. *Globe*, 31st cong., 1st sess., 707-9, 771, 1003. He refused to serve on the committee because he thought that "by combining the measures into one Bill the committee united the opponents of such measures instead of securing the friends of Each." To Lanphier and Walker, publishers of his Springfield organ, Aug. 3, 1850. *Lanphier Manuscripts* (Letters of Douglas to Lanphier and Walker. In possession of William L. Patton, Springfield, Ill.)

[13] His California bill became law after the failure of the omnibus. He wrote as follows of the circumstances of their incorporation into the Clay bill: "Before I reported these Bills, I consulted Mr. Clay & Gen'l. Cass whether I should put them in one or separate Bills. They both advised me to keep them separate . . . . I took their advice . . . . About two weeks afterward they changed their minds & concluded to appoint a committee for the purpose of uniting them . . . . I opposed the movement . . . . as they declared they did not intend to change any feature in my Bills. The Committee was appointed and took my two printed Bills & put a wafer between & reported them back without changing [not clear in MS] or writing a single word, except one line. The one line inserted prohibited the Territorial legislatures from legislating on the subject of slavery. . . . . So you see that the difference between Mr. Clay's Compromise Bill & my two

Bills was a wafer, & that he did not write one word of it & that I did write every word. *Lanphier MSS.* Letter of Aug. 3, 1850.

[14] *Globe*, 31st cong., 1st sess., 1114. He wrote to Lanphier and Walker, Sept. 9, alluding to "the few remarks in which I declare my firm adherence to *non-intervention* on the slavery question . . . . any vote which I have or might give inconsistent with that principle was *not my vote*, but *the vote of those who gave the instructions.*" *Lanphier MSS.*

[15] *Globe*, 31st cong., 1st sess., 1134.

[16] *Globe*, 31st cong., 1st sess., appendix, 1483ff.

[17] *Globe*, 31st cong., 1st sess., 1503-4, 1521, 1532, 1543, 1559, 1565, 1573.

[18] *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Mar. 11, 1850. Letter Feb. 24.

[19] *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, May 18, 1850. Letter May 8.

[20] *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Aug. 7, 1850.

[21] He tried to apply it to the Mexican cession east of California, and opposed the New Mexico bill which did not contain it. *Globe*, 31st cong., 1st sess., 1753, 1757-8.

[22] Frank E. Stevens, *Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (In *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 3 and 4, October, 1923, and January, 1924), 600, quotes Douglas in 1859 as writing to Dr. Gwin of California referring him to the debates during the period of the compromise, or to an editorial in the *Washington Union* of Oct. 5, 1858, to prove that the Freeport doctrine was no mere sophism coined in the heat of debate, but a considered opinion of nearly ten years' standing.

[23] As early as July 1 he wrote to a henchman that he would not run, saying that he had "been here too long that the position has lost all its attractions . . . ." a polite euphemism coming from one so eager for office. *Chicago Daily Democrat*, July 19, 1850.

[24] Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (7 Vols., New York, 1921ff.), VI, 150.

[25] Channing, *op. cit.*, VI, 152.

[26] James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the McKinley-Bryan Campaign of 1896* (New edition, 8 vols., New York, 1920), I, 424-97.

[27] P. Orman Ray, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Its Origin and Authorship* (Cleveland, 1909), 233.

[28] Frank H. Hodder, *The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act* (In *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1912*) 69-86. See also his article on *Propaganda in American History*, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, IX, 3-19. Considerable weight is given to the railroad-origin theory in an address by James W. Sheahan in a *Eulogy on Stephen A. Douglas, delivered before the Chicago University, July 3, 1861.* Sheahan was a close personal friend and "official" biographer of Douglas.

[29] A. C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War* (vol. III of *Centennial History of Illinois*, Springfield, 1919ff.), 114-18, gives perhaps the best brief summary of the evidence and the situation.

[30] Dec. 31, 1853. *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, Jan. 14, 1854. *Senate report* No. 15, 33d cong., 1st sess.

[31] Archibald Dixon of Kentucky offered the first and Charles Sumner the second. *Globe*, 33d cong., 1st sess., 175, 186.

[32] Mrs. Archibald Dixon, *The True History of the Missouri Compromise and Its Repeal* (Cincinnati, 1899), 442-9, gives the story of the transactions between Dixon and Douglas which induced Douglas to accept the amendment. Philip Phillips of Alabama, a member of the house territorial committee, also claims to have been instrumental in suggesting repeal to Douglas, but his proof is not sufficiently convincing to give him precedence over Dixon. *Philip Phillips Papers* in Library of Congress. He makes the significant statement that "Mr. Douglas said he thought the Bill did repeal the inhibition of the Act of 1820." See also H. B. Learned, *The Relation of Philip Phillips to the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, VIII, 303-17.

[33] G. M. McConnell in after life reproduced what purported to be Douglas' reaction toward the repeal: "'I firmly believe this Missouri compromise is a step toward freedom . . . . I was surprised that the proposal to repeal came from the south. I dread the effect, and said so. But what can I do? All my public life I have been a party man. For nearly twenty years I have been fighting for a place among the leaders of the party which seems to me most likely to promote the peace and prosperity of my country, and I have won it.

That party has decided to take a step which seems to me impolitic, if not unwise . . . . I must either champion the policy the party has adopted or forfeit forever all that I have fought for—must throw away my whole life and not only cease to be a leader, but sink into a nobody.'" *Recollections of Stephen A. Douglas* in *Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society*, 1900, 48-51. Allowing for the age and bias of the narrator, the above seems a fair interpretation of Douglas' attitude and of his facility in shifting the blame.

[34] Fierce attacks by Salmon P. Chase and Lewis Cass forced alteration of the words "which was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850 . . . ." to "which, being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by congress with slavery in the territories . . . ." *Globe*, 33d cong., 1st sess., 421.

[35] "I passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act myself. I had the authority and power of a dictator throughout the whole controversy in both houses. The speeches were nothing . . . ." Cutts, *op. cit.*, 122-23.

[36] *Globe*, 33d cong., 1st sess., 532; *ibid.*, appendix, 325-33.

[37] *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Mar. 11, 1854. He had voted against both the Utah and New Mexico bills because they did not contain the proviso.

[38] *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, June 3, 1854. From his own statements it appears that he opposed the bill more actively than his total lack of speeches would indicate.

[39] Douglas' colleagues at this time were Trumbull, anti-Nebraska democrat, and J. H. Woodworth (Rep.). For a full discussion of Trumbull see the excellent biography by Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull*, (Boston and New York, 1913).

[40] *Senate report* No. 34, 34th cong., 1st sess.

[41] *Globe*, 34th cong., 1st sess., 652, 654; *ibid.*, appendix, 200-206; *Illinois State Register*, Mar. 21, 1856.

[42] *Globe*, 34th cong., 1st sess., appendix, 280-89.

[43] Trumbull maintained his democracy as defined by the principles of 1850 and 1852, but refused to define his party loyalty in terms of the new test set up by Douglas' acceptance of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. *Globe*, 34th cong., 1st sess., 693-94.

[44] *Globe*, 34th cong., 1st sess., 1369.

[45] *Globe*, 34th cong., 1st sess., 1369ff.; *ibid.*, appendix, 797. The Dred Scott case was then before the court. Trumbull's bill died in Douglas' committee. See also White, *op. cit.*, 63-66.

[46] *Globe*, 34th cong., 1st sess., 1506.

[47] *Globe*, 34th cong., 1st sess., appendix, 778. The political aspects of this Douglas-Trumbull debate should be noted. Trumbull was trying to force Douglas into a definite stand on the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill for use in the coming campaign.

[48] *House journal*, 34th cong., 1st sess., 1158-59; *Globe*, *ibid.*, 1817.

[49] Illinois political leaders so analyzed his actions. Governor William A. Bissell wrote Trumbull, Dec. 12, 1857: "His course is believed to be dictated solely by his fears connected with the next senatorial election." Bailhache and Baker, publishers of the *Springfield State Journal*, wrote Dec. 16: "Douglas is making a bold stroke to regain his lost ground in Illinois." *Trumbull Papers* in Library of Congress.

[50] He is quoted by C. H. Ray of the *Chicago Tribune* as saying: "By G—d, sir, I made Mr. James Buchanan, and by G—d, sir, I will unmake him." To Trumbull, Nov. 24, 1857. Trumbull Papers.

[51] *Globe*, 35th cong., 1st sess., 5.
[52] *Globe*, 35th cong., 1st sess., 7-8.
[53] *Globe*, 35th cong., 1st sess., 65.
[54] *Globe*, 35th cong., 1st sess., 521-24.
[55] *Senate report* No. 82, 35th cong., 1st sess. His speech of Mar. 22, 1858 is considered by many to have been his finest effort. *Globe, ibid.*, appendix, 194-201.
[56] Cutts, *op. cit.*, 119-20.
[57] *Globe*, 35th cong., 1st sess., 1899, 1905-6.
[58] During 1859 and 1860 his major interests were extra-congressional and his senatorial activities were largely connected with explaining some of his inconvenient utterances of the campaign of 1858 and in building up his prospects for the election of 1860.
[59] *Globe*, 36th cong., 1st sess., 424.
[60] *Globe*, 36th cong., 1st sess., 552-59.
[61] A correspondent of the hostile *Chicago Tribune* said that at the close "not a Senator went near him; not one shook hands or congratulated him. His speech advanced him not a peg towards the goal of his ambition. Every Southern member discerned his motives and spurned his bid for their favor." Jan. 28, 1860.
[62] *Globe*, 36th cong., 1st sess., appendix, 301-16, 2145-47.
[63] Dec. 25, 1860, he wrote Lanphier that the north could never acknowledge the right of a state to secede, but that he did not despair of the union. He would not "consider the question of force & war until all efforts at peaceful adjustment have been made & have failed . . . . I am for the Union, and hence am ready to make any reasonable sacrifice to save it." *Lanphier MSS.*
[64] *Globe*, 36th cong., 2d sess., 409.
[65] *Globe*, 36th cong., 2d sess., appendix, 35-42.
[66] *Globe*, 36th cong., 2d sess., 1380-82.
[67] *Globe*, 36th cong., 2d sess., 1388-91.
[68] *Globe*, 36th cong., 2d sess., appendix, 118-21. His remarks were evidently for home consumption.

CHAPTER III

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

As the scene shifted from secession and compromise to civil war the actors were recast. Douglas, passing off-stage with a final gesture, turned over his leading part to Trumbull, who forged to the front and played successive rôles of good republican and leader of his party along the paths of radicalism, only to drop back into a place of fretful lack of harmony with that same party grown too radical. When the special session of July, 1861 assembled, questions of policy were prominent in the senate, with the searchlight being turned on the administration and the batteries of confiscation on the rebels.[1] Trumbull opposed legalization of Lincoln's extraordinary acts performed during the recess. He felt that the legislative branch should support the executive and grant it all power necessary to cope with the situation, but that all such grants must be in accordance with law; in other words, that war did not abrogate law nor the necessity for law.[2] Pursuant to this idea he introduced a bill to suppress insurrection and sedition. It allowed the president to declare any section in insurrection, placing it under military administration and suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*.[3] He finally proposed a bill to confiscate rebel slave property falling into the hands of the union forces after being permitted or required to labor on any military or naval operations against the federal government. Through this measure he induced congress to take its initial action regarding slavery.[4] The confiscation movement gathered headway at the long session, 1861-62, and Trumbull and his colleague in the house, Isaac N. Arnold (Rep.) each introduced measures. Trumbull defended the constitutionality of his radical proposal to confiscate the property and emancipate and colonize the slaves of rebels by a closely-reasoned argument to prove (a) that the right to confiscate enemy property existed; (b) that rebels might be treated as enemies for that purpose; (c) that confiscation could be accomplished only by act of congress (a reiteration of his contention that war did not rid the executive of legislative trammels); (d) that his bill was constitutional; (e) that its passage was expedient.[5]

While the senate hesitated sentiment gathered in the house. In February, 1862, Arnold urged action, saying "So long as we refuse to take the property of rebels treason is rewarded with security, and loyalty suffers for its fidelity."[6] He urged confiscation and emancipation "not as a moral or philanthropical question, but as a practical, political, and military question." He supported the house bill, aimed mainly at confederate leaders and officials, concluding that "the power of Congress to confiscate the property of all persons engaged in the present insurrection . . . may be considered as settled. It is *res adjudicata*. It is based alike upon reason and authority, and cannot now be considered as an open question."[7] This bill came to the senate[8] where Trumbull and his Illinois colleague, Orville H. Browning (Rep.), repeated an earlier dispute over the respective merits of presidential prerogative and congressional power to bind the executive.[9] Both Trumbull and Arnold

supported the bill which finally came out of the conference committee.[10] Arnold's main effort of the session was on a bill introduced under the ambitious title "H.R. No. 374, to render freedom national and slavery sectional." As passed it prohibited slavery in the territories, thus writing into law the republican doctrine of congressional power to prohibit slavery there. His speech was largely a tirade against slavery, concluding with a constitutional argument in favor of the proposed action.[11]

Trumbull's next assertion of congressional control of the executive involved the question of arbitrary arrests. He took issue with Lincoln, arguing that the writ of *habeas corpus* could be suspended only by act of congress,[12] and persuaded the senate to pass his proposal for a constitutional (congress-sanctioned) exercise of the power.[13] He presently secured passage of his bill indemnifying the president for his arrests,[14] a conference united the two bills and it was decided, largely through his instrumentality, that congress could prescribe the conditions and procedure under which the executive might suspend the writ.[15]

By 1864 war and reconstruction became simultaneous problems. Among the latter arose the question of emancipation previously attempted with uniform Chicago support.[16] The Chicago members were made special agents in legalizing the president's proclamation. Early in January Arnold's strong speech on slavery held destruction of that institution essential to the restoration of national unity and the salvation of the country.[17] At Lincoln's instance he introduced a resolution "That the Constitution shall be so amended as to abolish slavery in the United States wherever it now exists, and to prohibit its existence in every part thereof forever." This failed of the necessary two-thirds.[18] Trumbull reported a similar resolution, couched in the language of the ordinance of 1787, and urged affirmative action, brushing aside as unconstitutional the suggestion that congress might by law take the necessary action and affirming that an amendment was the only way to secure the desired result.[19] It became the basis of the thirteenth amendment, being urged in the house by Arnold at the second session.[20]

By December, 1865 the question of reconstructing the rebel states had reached an acute stage,[21] rendered more complicated by the accession of Andrew Johnson and the reaction of his reconstruction plan on the congressional radicals. Both Trumbull and Wentworth joined these in support of the Stevens resolution calling for a joint committee on reconstruction. Trumbull's judiciary committee played an important part in the struggle of which this was the gage of battle. He himself introduced two of the major bills of the reconstruction program and was prominent in the debates until the tide of radicalism set too strongly against him. He pressed to passage his bill to enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau[22] and tried to repass it over Johnson's veto, urging its necessity as an aid to the newly-freed and helpless blacks.[23] His other measure, the civil rights bill, was more permanent and of nation-wide application. He held it the most important measure to come before congress since the thirteenth amendment, to which it was designed to give practical effect.[24] He urged that if congress had not the power to pass the law the amendment itself was of no avail, saying:

"In my judgment, persons of African descent, born in the United States, are as much citizens as white persons who are born in this country. . . . It is competent for Congress to declare, under the Constitution of the United States, who are citizens thereof. . . . That this bill proposes to do. . . ." Johnson's veto of this bill marked Trumbull's actual break with the administration. An attitude of patient tolerance,[25] passing into dignified expostulation at the Freedmen's Bureau veto, now advanced into active opposition. Of the veto he said:[26]

> Gladly would I refrain from speaking of the spirit of this message, of the dangerous doctrines it promulgates, of the inconsistencies and contradictions of its author, of his encroachments upon the constitutional rights of Congress, of his assumption of unwarranted powers, which, if persevered in and not checked by the people, must eventually lead to a subversion of the Government and the destruction of liberty.

Due largely to his efforts the bill was repassed.[27] These two enactments mark a transition in Trumbull's attitude, and he became an opponent of the administration until his sense of justice drove him to support Johnson during the furor of impeachment. After lagging behind his party in the movement transferring leadership to Sumner and Stevens, he became for a time a member of the radicals.[28] He devoted little attention to the other reconstruction measures of the session, the second Freedmen's Bureau act and the Fourteenth Amendment. Wentworth played only a slight part in reconstruction, voting with the uniformly radical republican membership of the state delegation.[29]

Trumbull's position during the short session of the thirty-ninth congress, 1866-67, marks a significant turning point. Aside from an early assertion of the plenary power of congress over reconstruction[30] he was as silent as his colleague in the house. Both supported further measures putting into law the legislative triumph over the executive, but neither spoke. His silence during the hectic sessions which passed the Stevens-Sumner harshly restrictive measures is undoubtedly significant. His important activity and his gradual break with the administration have been noted. He had been a leader of thought and action. Now his sole statement was made before the hand of the radicals was shown, after which he displayed no influence or activity and the extremists carried matters with a high hand. Despite his repeated votes with his party on crucial questions it is not unfair to conclude that things had gone so far that he was out of sympathy with the newer leaders, more given to action than to the reflection which preceded and conditioned his own attitudes.[31] Here were being planted the seeds which would finally drive him from his party on the impeachment question. Congress assembled in special session in March, 1867 to observe presidential execution of its reconstruction legislation. The principle of action once determined, Trumbull again participated in the details of legislation and reported and urged to passage both the so-called supplementary reconstruction acts with their additional details and machinery.

The impeachment and trial of president Johnson forms an interlude to reconstruction with such bearings on the relations of Trumbull to his party as to merit brief notice. Norman B. Judd (Rep.) and

Logan joined the radicals in denouncing Johnson after his attack on Stanton in February, 1868. The latter's argument alleged violation of the tenure-of-office act and went on in the delicately restrained language of which he was a master to assert that the president had "done every act which can be enumerated in the English language which is an obstruction to the prosperity of this nation and the preservation of the harmony of its people. . . . I believe before my God this bad man's intention is and has been to reinaugurate revolution in this country."[32] Judd supported the resolution and felt that he was doing his country a service by voting to depose "this usurper."[33] Trumbull the constitutionalist, hewing to the line of strictest demarcation between the powers of the departments of government, faced a critical choice. His insistence on maintaining the powers of congress against executive encroachments even during the trying days of war when the executive was personified in his personal and political friend Lincoln, has been noted. It is also evident that during reconstruction he had been as decided if not as outspoken in asserting congressional powers. In debate and at the voting bar he had lined up with the radicals. The impeachment of a president of the United States as generally undesirable was, however, another matter which must be based on thoroughly sound grounds, regardless of the characteristics of the individual. We have no light on his mental processes, but they resulted in the conclusion that the grounds of impeachment were insufficient. To the surprise and dismay of his friends he denounced the whole procedure.[34]

Thanks to the provision allowing senators to file formal briefs of their opinions, we have his views.[35] He first confined the question to the text of the articles. "The question to be decided," he asserted, "is not whether Andrew Johnson is a proper person to fill the presidential office, nor whether it is fit that he should remain in it, nor, indeed, whether he has violated the Constitution and laws in other respects than those alleged against him. . . ." On the basis of a searching examination of the eleven articles of impeachment he failed to find in them adequate grounds for removal. He summarized his attitude toward Johnson and upon the merits of the case as follows:

> His speeches and the general course of his administration have been as distasteful to me as to any one, and I should consider it the great calamity of the age if the disloyal element, so often encouraged by his measures, should gain political ascendancy. If the question was, is Andrew Johnson a fit person for President? I should answer, *no;* but it is not a party question, nor upon Andrew Johnson's deeds and acts, except so far as they are made to appear in the record, that I am to decide . . . . Once set the example of impeaching a President for what, when the excitement of the hour shall have subsided, will be regarded as insufficient causes . . . . and no future President will be safe who happens to differ with a majority of the House and two-thirds of the Senate on any measure deemed by them important, particularly if of a political character . . . . I cannot be an instrument to produce such a result; and at the hazard of the ties even of friendship and affection, till calmer times shall do justice to my motives, no alternative is left me but the inflexible discharge of duty.

The crucial vote was taken on the eleventh section, a sort of conglomerate of all the rest, and Trumbull voted with six other Republi-

cans against it, practically ending the proceedings. He thus shares with them the honor of saving the country from what the judgment of a later and less vindictive time has held would have been a mistake. Looking back over the man's previous record, with its continual emphasis on a strict recognition of the respective powers of executive and legislature, his action seems the natural outcome of the juristic point of view which he had consistently maintained. His ability to preserve this attitude in the face of personal feeling and a public opinion which made his action, tantamount to political suicide is no small tribute to his public spirit and devotion to duty.

The next important phase of reconstruction dealt with the admission of the southern states whose constitutions had been ratified under the aegis of federal bayonets. Trumbull became increasingly dissatisfied as the radicals grew ever more radical and imposed new conditions not contemplated in the original plan, to which he had somewhat unwillingly subscribed. This dissatisfaction continued until, combined with other factors, it carried him into the liberal republican movement in 1872. It was in contrast to his colleagues in the house, who were among the staunchest of the radicals. A brief resumé of the legislation will indicate his attitude. He supported and had charge of the conference report on the Stevens bill admitting Arkansas, the first of the series,[36] after he had reaffirmed his belief in the efficacy of congressional reconstruction,[37] asserting that it was "a most excellent plan, well calculated to accomplish the object for which it was designed; and I am for standing by it, and for seeing it consummated." He went on to uphold congressional employment of the military: "In my judgment . . . . the constitutional authority of Congress over these States is complete." The next measure, however, tested the strength of his reconstruction principles. It was an omnibus bill admitting the Carolinas, Louisiana, Georgia and Alabama. When he reported the bill, Alabama was omitted because, as he said, the original reconstruction act had not been complied with in the ratification of its constitution.[38] He consistently opposed the inclusion of Alabama in the bill, but was overridden and the bill was passed over the veto in what had by this time become the prescribed form.[39] His action here emphasizes his fundamental attitude on reconstruction, which was a combination of radical leanings with a profound respect for law which would not permit him to deviate from what he deemed right even if by so doing he could attain what his radical feelings told him to be desirable.

He supported the bill providing for submitting the constitutions of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas to popular vote and for the election of state and national officers under them. However, in line with his policy, he opposed a senate amendment which would force them to ratify the fifteenth amendment before their representatives could be admitted to congress. He held that the conditions already laid down as preliminary to readmission were sufficient without adding more, as would be the case were the amendment adopted.[40] Its incorporation in the bill illustrates the prevailing tendency to make reëntry into the union continually harder.[41]

The long session of the forty-first congress, 1869-70, disclosed a split in the Republican party. The radicals, still bent on reprisals, were opposed by an increasingly conservative group unwilling to follow their lead to its ultimate conclusion, though not giving up the principles on which radical reconstruction was based. In this group Trumbull's judiciary committee played a leading rôle.[42] When Virginia was ripe for readmission the committee reported a simple resolution embodying that action. January 13, 1870 he opposed addition of further conditions, asserting that the senate had been four years trying to devise a scheme whereby the late rebel states could be brought back to their former relations. His violent tilt with Sumner was the first of a series of recriminatory passages which featured the debate. Despite his best efforts the radicals imposed further conditions.[43] The Mississippi and Texas bills presented a similar story. The house passed a bill containing conditions, the senate judiciary committee moved to amend by omitting these, and the bills passed carrying the impositions of the radicals.

Trumbull and the moderates first came into their own in passing the Georgia bill closing this phase of reconstruction. Here he supported a provision designed to prevent the carpet-bag legislature from being perpetuated for two years beyond its normal term.[44] The only contribution of the house members to the debate was Logan's amendment providing for admission of the state without conditions[45] and a speech in which he declared: "I have always maintained, as far as my own views are concerned, that States should be admitted into this Union upon an equality. . . . I would not give a fig for your conditions. . . ."[46] This pronouncement is at variance with numerous votes in favor of conditions and probably indicates that party ties were stronger with him than conviction.

Trumbull's next important participation in reconstruction legislation took place at the special session of the forty-second congress (March-May, 1871) when the Ku-Klux bill and general amnesty were discussed. The former, requested by Grant as a means of enforcing the fourteenth amendment, gave the executive large powers for suppressing Klan outrages. Neither Logan nor Charles B. Farwell (Rep.), now Chicago's first "big businessman" in congress, took any part in the house debates. It went to Trumbull's committee in the Senate, but he was thoroughly out of sympathy with his party and it was reported by Edmunds.[47] His opposition speech of April 11 was one of the ablest of his many constitutional arguments. By an elaborate and technical analysis he drew the line between the powers of the federal and state governments, asserting that the former was formed for general purposes and that the protection of individual personal liberty was left with the states. He held that the fourteenth amendment left unchanged the privileges and immunities of citizens of the *United States,* and applied only to those of citizens of the *states,* the implication being that the federal government could not pass a law restricting the liberty of state citizens unless these by their actions violated federal law. "Show me," he said, "that it is necessary to exercise any power belonging to the Government of the United States in order to maintain its authority

and I am ready to put it forth. But, sir, I am not willing to undertake to enter the States for the purpose of punishing individual offenses against their authority committed by one citizen against another. We, in my judgment, have no constitutional authority to do that. . . ."[48] The bill passed despite his efforts, and his new colleague, Logan, supported it.[49]

His last important action on reconstruction was to urge the passage of the general amnesty bill in 1872. This measure, intended to remove the disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment, passed the house in April, 1871,[50] but never got out of caucus in the senate though Trumbull had urged its passage "in order that the South might be convinced that congress was legislating for the best interests of that section, and not for mere partisan purposes. . . ."[51] When it was reported in December Trumbull was convinced that the regular republican party organization was impotent to cure the evils of the Grant administration and had already cast his lot with the liberal republican movement, thus alienating himself from his party. His main effort, in which he was seconded by Logan, was in dissuading Sumner from moving his supplementary civil rights bill as an amendment. A tangled parliamentary situation finally produced an amnesty bill without the civil rights amendment, and he had aided the moderates to another victory.[52]

Viewing the delegation as a whole on the problem of reconstruction a greater unity and continuity is discernible than was true in antebellum days. Senator and representatives united in their support of the war, and radicalism was the keynote of the reconstruction position. Toward the end of the period the members of the lower house outdid Trumbull in their radicalism and stood with the extremists of the Stevens-Sumner school while he adhered to his early definition of radicalism, thus destroying the unanimity. With this exception the temper of the times and the political situation at home kept the delegation abreast of the radical movement.

Turning to individuals the figure of Trumbull towers above the other members. Arnold made a rather strong impression as a champion of freedom but Judd, Wentworth, Farwell and Logan were more largely identified with the radicals by their consistent votes than by contributions to the debates. Trumbull's career presents an interesting study, first of a juristic mind battling for law in a time when the clash of arms threatened to silence the voice of the solons, and later of the attitude of that same juristic mind in relation to party policy on reconstruction. Here he passed through a cycle, first finding himself in the vanguard of the radicals, but, forced by his qualities of mind to maintain a position once assumed, he was first overtaken by his party and then left so far behind that there remained no place for him in its ranks. Underlying the whole of his activity was a profound respect for law as embodied in constitution and statute. Even in the emergency of arms he insisted on the coördinate rank of the two active branches of the government and demanded that the executive recognize and respect the right of congress to share in the shaping of policy. The writ of *habeas corpus* might be

suspended, but it must be done by virtue of a law. When reconstruction became a problem he took his stand on the Lincoln plan and his resolution recognizing the new government of Louisiana was a legislative confession of faith. When the party broke with Johnson he went with it and marched with somewhat lagging steps in the radical ranks, parting with the administration after the veto of the Freedmen's Bureau and civil rights acts. However, when radicalism fed upon itself and became more radical, he refused to be reinoculated with the virus of vindictiveness and continued to define his radicalism in its earlier terms. This attitude made him first a laggard and then an outlaw with respect to the party which he had once led, and left him a political wreck on the rock of his own convictions.

CHAPTER III—NOTES

[1] Ways and means of supplying the sinews of war received little attention from the delegation, which confined itself largely to discussions of policy. Legal-tenders, national bank legislation, revenue bills, the income tax and currency legislation were commonly voted on with a minimum of expressed opinion and that mainly devoted to securing the interests of the west as opposed to those of the seaboard. Beyond stating this tendency no effort will be made at detailed examination of these matters save in the case of the currency, which will be treated in a later chapter.

[2] *Globe*, 37th cong., 1st sess., 392. "I am disposed to give the necessary power to the Administration to suppress this rebellion; but I am not disposed to say that the Administration has unlimited power and can do what it pleases, after Congress meets."

[3] After some discussion it went over to the regular session. *Globe*, 37th cong., 1st sess., 336-37, 382.

[4] *Globe*, 37th cong., 1st sess., 120, 219, 434.

[5] He reported it from the judiciary committee, of which he was chairman. Of his position he said: "I want no other authority for putting down even this gigantic rebellion than such as may be derived from the Constitution properly interpreted. . . . . I here declare that I am for suppressing this monstrous rebellion according to law, and in no other way." *Globe*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 18-19; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 4, 1861. His speeches are found in *Globe, ibid.*, 1557-62, 1964.

[6] *Globe*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 858.

[7] *Globe*, 37th cong., 2d sess., appendix, 182-84.

[8] It passed the house May 26, 1862. *House journal*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 741-42.

[9] *Globe*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 2969-72.

[10] As passed it defined treason, gave the president power to put down the rebellion and confiscated rebel property. Its efficiency was slight save as it started the emancipation movement. White, *op. cit.*, 176; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (2 vols., Norwich, Conn., 1884), I, 377.

[11] *Globe*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 2044-45; *house journal, ibid.*, 668-69; *senate journal, ibid.*, 621; *Chicago Tribune*, May 16, 1862.

[12] *Globe*, 37th cong., 3d sess., 31.

[13] White, *op. cit.*, 198; *Globe*, 37th cong., 3d sess., 1090-92, 1184-1208.

[14] White, *oop. cit.*, 200; *senate journal*, 37th cong., 3d sess., 156-63. The bill was intended to free the president of blame for previous arrests and to guard him in future cases arising from border state disaffection.

[15] White, *op. cit.*, 422, says: "It may be fairly said that Trumbull took the lead in putting an end to arbitrary arrests in the loyal states where the courts of justice were open, and in prescribing the process of the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*."

[16] *House journal*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 744, 891-92, 433-34, 357-58; *senate journal, ibid.*, 368.

[17] *Globe*, 38th cong., 1st sess., 112-17.

[18] John A. Logan, *The Great Conspiracy: Its Origin and History* (New York, 1886), 554, says that it was offered "after conference with Mr. Lincoln, with the very purpose of making a test . . . ." *Globe*, 38th cong., 1st sess., 659-60.

[19] *Globe*, 38th cong., 1st sess., 1313-14. The resolution passed the senate but failed to secure two-thirds in the house, despite Arnold's plea. *Ibid.*, 2988; *senate journal, ibid.*, 310-13; *house journal, ibid.*, 812.

[20] *House journal*, 38th cong., 2d sess., 170-71.

[21] Arnold and Trumbull had supported the radical reconstruction bill which was pocket vetoed by Lincoln in 1864. *House journal*, 38th cong., 1st sess., 625-26; *senate journal, ibid.*, 714-15.

[22] Both Arnold and Trumbull supported the original bill but neither spoke on it. *House journal*, 38th cong., 1st sess., 330; *senate journal, ibid.*, 669.

[23] *Globe*, 39th cong., 1st sess., 421, 688, 936-43; Rhodes, *op. cit.*, VI, 56. The senate refused to override the veto.

[24] *Globe*, 39th cong., 1st sess., 474-76.

[25] A letter of D. L. Phillips to Trumbull, Mar. 22, 1866, indicates inferentially the latter's attitude. He wrote: "I fully agree with you in your expressed hope that Congress will make no war on the Executive . . . ." *Trumbull Papers.*

[26] *Globe*, 39th cong., 1st sess., 1755-60.

[27] Chicago voted to override the veto in both houses. *Senate journal*, 39th cong., 1st sess., 317; *house journal, ibid.*, 528.

[28] The anti-Johnson *Chicago Tribune* noted that "Senator Trumbull is one of those who have been counted conservative in this struggle against Andrew Johnsonism . . . ."

[29] Mar. 16, 1866, he asserted his belief that he had followed Stevens' lead in voting more closely than any member on the floor. *Globe*, 39th cong., 1st sess., 1461.

[30] Dec. 18, 1866. *Globe*, 39th cong., 2d sess., 159-61.

[31] This is the view of Rhodes, *op cit.*, VI, 156-58.

[32] *Globe*, 40th cong., 2d sess., 1351-53.

[33] *Globe*, 40th cong., 2d sess., 1396.

[34] Shelby M. Cullom (Rep.), then a member of the house, wrote in later life: "I remember with what astonishment we heard that Judge Trumbull had taken the floor denouncing the proceeding as unworthy of a justice of the peace court . . . ." S. M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service* (Chicago, 1911), 157.

[35] *Globe*, 40th cong., 2d sess., supplement, 417-20. This volume also contains Logan's long argument against Johnson, 251-68.

[36] *Senate journal*, 40th cong., 2d sess., 440; *Globe*, *ibid.*, 2901, 2904.

[37] Jan. 23, 1868. *Globe*, 40th cong., 2d sess., 707-10.

[38] *Globe*, 40th cong., 2d sess., 2858, 2931.

[39] *Senate journal*, 40th cong., 2d sess., 467, 472, 474, 544; *house journal, ibid.*, 931-32.

[40] *Globe*, 41st cong., 1st sess., 653-54.

[41] Trumbull supported the bill after opposing the amendment. *Senate journal*, 41st cong., 1st sess., 149-50.

[42] The *Chicago Tribune* correspondent hit off the situation admirably when he divided the senate republicans into the "obdurates" and the "juridicals," led by the judiciary committee which numbered among its members Trumbull, Edmunds, Conkling and Thurman. His summary gives an excellent key to Trumbull's whole attitude on reconstruction: "Here is the real split in the republican party in the Senate, between those who are willing to be radical lawfully, and those who would rather be radical than right." *Tribune*, May 23, 1870.

[43] *Globe*, 41st cong., 2d sess., 318-22. He supported the bill itself after opposing the added conditions.

[44] This debate centered on the Bingham amendment, adopted in the house, removing the two-year added term. This was supported by the house members from Chicago and was practically the only indication that they were other than staunch radicals, for they spoke little on the bills and voted uniformly with the extremists.

[45] *Globe*, 41st cong., 2d sess., 2859.

[46] *Globe*, 41st cong., 2d sess., 4794.

[47] April 1 he said that he had sat for a month without making any speeches on the questions which had been agitating the senate. *Globe*, 42d cong., 1st sess., 472.

[48] *Globe*, 42d cong., 1st sess., 575-81; *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 20, 1871.

[49] *Senate journal*, 42d cong., 1st sess., 129-30; *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 15, 1871.

[50] *House journal*, 42d cong., 1st sess., 140.

[51] *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 18, 24, 1871.

[52] *Senate journal*, 42d cong., 2d sess., 79-81; 220-21, 698-99, 705, 806-8; *house journal, ibid.*, 163-64, 850-51, 993-94, 1064-65; *Globe, ibid.*, 896.

CHAPTER IV

THE ILLINOIS DELEGATION AND THE CURRENCY QUESTION[1]

The inflation, deflation and stabilization of the currency resulting from the civil war and subsequent civil and economic readjustments form one of the important paragraphs in the chapter of late nineteenth century American history—a paragraph compounded of successive efforts to debase the circulating medium by floods of unsecured paper and undervalued silver. The sentences of the paragraph were dictated by debtors and creditors, east and west, striving to write on the statute-book the ideas which each thought would aid section or economic interest. They were written on the floors of congress by elected representatives speaking the voice of these interests. It is now proposed to view this process in cross-section through the eyes of the congressional delegation from Illinois.

The original issue of legal-tenders in 1862, underlying much later currency trouble, evoked few expressions of opinion from the delegation. The principal arguments bore on its constitutionality and expediency. Owen Lovejoy (Rep.) argued ably against its validity under the constitution, asserting that "there is no possible, yawning bottomless gulf before this nation so terrible, so appalling, so ruinous . . . ." as the sea of fiat money on which the government was about to embark.[2] William Kellogg (Rep.) upheld both constitutionality and expediency.[3] After the war secretary of the treasury Hugh McCulloch saw the need of refunding the greenbacks and in 1865 began to retire them out of a surplus revenue. In April, 1866, a contraction measure permitted withdrawal of $10,000,000 of greenbacks in the next six months and $4,000,000 monthly thereafter.[4] The only expression of opinion was by Wentworth, who reflected the interests of the banking and commercial classes and supported the bill.[5] Illinois soon came to reflect the growing opposition to contraction and a flood of petitions remonstrated

against further curtailment of the currency. Wentworth and E. B. Washburne (Rep.) were alone among the delegation to favor continued contraction.[6]

Economic depression following crop failures, speculation and resulting business difficulties gave birth in 1867 to the "Ohio idea" which was not only anti-contractionist but favored largely increased greenback issues. By this time the delegation aided almost unanimously in passing a bill suspending retirement of the legal-tenders.[7] After this the subject languished for a time. The Grant administration announced a policy of ultimate resumption of specie payments, but wanting action to this end, efforts were made toward reducing the debt. It was expected that this would raise the national credit and bring specie into the country, which in turn would tend to put coin and paper on a parity.[8] An earnest of good intentions was contained in the act to strengthen the public credit, which split the delegation along strictly party lines. This declared the intention of the United States to pay its notes and bonds in coin or the equivalent, and to take early action on resumption.[9]

Both houses went on record in February, 1870.[10] The house supported and the senate opposed expansion. February 21 the house delegation with one exception supported the Loughridge resolution favoring an increase of at least $50,000,000 in the circulating medium.[11] Three days later the senate passed the Williams resolution opposing more paper as an obstacle to resumption.[12] After the first supreme court decision had impaired the legal-tender qualities of the greenbacks, southern and western interests proposed inflation by issuing additional bank currency. The banking and currency committee, hostile to greenbacks, proposed to match this by a corresponding retirement of legal tenders. Judd opposed this vigorously as a member of the committee, and the house adopted his amendment striking out the retirement clause. All the statements of Illinois members in this debate indicate inflationist sentiments, though the votes followed largely party lines.[13] Trumbull expressed himself only incidentally on the paper money question but his remarks indicated hostility to greenbacks as an influence retarding resumption.[14] Thus through Grant's first administration nothing was accomplished toward resumption, western sentiment prevented contraction of the fiat money supply, no policy was developed and currency questions remained generally subordinate to reconstruction, with Illinois sentiment in the house largely favorable to inflation and in the senate opposed to it.

The panic of 1873 brought matters to a head: the debate begun in December raged nearly three months before a decision was reached, only to be overturned by a presidential veto. Logan now appeared as a member of the "paper money trinity," along with T. W. Ferry of Michigan and O. P. Morton of Indiana, and preached inflation in season and out of season. On the basis, as he said, of two weeks' study of the question,[15] he called Europe and the Middle Ages to witness that "a metallic standard of value cannot meet all the wants of commerce and national necessities." He argued that the trouble with the currency was not its quality but its quantity. Resumption by law would cripple trade and

please only the money-holders. The results of his researches led him to advocate $800,000,000 of currency divided equally between greenbacks and bank notes and accompanied by a system of free banking.[16] Reduced to legislative terms the question hinged on fixing the amount of greenbacks. The contraction-resumption group wished to retain the $356,000,000 level fixed by McCulloch's retirement of $44,000,000. Secretary of the treasury William A. Richardson had been carrying on a private inflation of his own during the panic with apparently no particular legal sanction, and when debate started the amount current was $382,000,000. A compromise party opposed to inflation but willing to accept this much in order to avoid more, stood by the senate finance committee bill to fix the amount at this figure. The out-and-out inflationists wished to reissue all the "reserve" and bring the total to $400,000,000. A bill to enact the last scheme passed the house on March 23, 1874. Only one Illinois vote was cast against it and only one member supported an amendment restricting the amount to $356,000,000.[17] In the senate Logan and Richard J. Oglesby (Rep.) helped the inflationists to override the finance committee and fix the higher maximum.[18] On the bill's passage in April three of Illinois' nineteen members were mustered against expansion.[19] This was the "inflation bill" which was vetoed by president Grant. The senate failed to repass it and the country was thus saved for the moment from increased paper.[20] A final expansionist effort in June resulted in the compromise bill fixing the greenback maximum at $382,000,000 left outstanding after Richardson's reissues. Resumption of specie payments and bank note issues so complicated the measure that the question of greenbacks was somewhat obscured. Neither party won a complete victory: the contractionists had to accept $26,000,000 of inflation and the inflationists lost $18,000,000 of their desires. Sound money won the major triumph, however, for the autumn elections reversed the republican house majority and one of the main factors in the change was the party's failure to take positive action on the currency question.

The impressive fact about the speeches, made over a period of about six months, is that every statement of opinion favored either retention or increase of the greenbacks. Logan contended valiantly for $400,000,000 of legal-tenders.[21] Oglesby, his colleague in the senate, rather half-heartedly favored the same proposal.[22] In the house H. C. Burchard (Rep.) was the only opponent of excessive fiat money issues, urging that inflation "at this time would be disastrous to the agriculturists of the Northwest." Again he deftly pricked the bubble of those who would manufacture a stable currency by the printing press method by asserting that "To the student of history and economic science the proposition seems too absurd to attempt a serious discussion of its effect."[23] John R. Eden (Dem.) urged that the "first necessity of business prosperity is cheap money. . . ." and that "The necessities of the people, and therefore the highest demands of the country require that money be made cheap."[24] G. L. Fort (Rep.) asserted that[25]

> Economy and a good currency should go together, and in fact they are inseparable; then we shall have abundant prosperity. Greenbacks are good enough for all our purposes and wants. They will buy food and raiment and

comforts for our families, purchase a homestead and shelter. They will educate our children, pay our taxes and tithes to the church, bury us when dead and rear a tombstone at our graves; and is not this all we want of money?

Aroused by election reverses the "lame duck" congress passed the act providing for resumption of specie payments January 1, 1879. No Illinois member spoke on this measure. Logan was a member of the caucus committee which framed the bill under the tutelage of John Sherman and voted with his republican colleague for its passage. The house delegation split exclusively along party lines.[26] This measure was really to settle the status of the greenbacks, although the western inflationists had no intention that it should be permanent, and repeal of resumption became the football of politics as soon as the election of 1876 left the house free to discuss such a highly controversial subject.

Meantime the fiatists rallied to inflation by silver. The "crime against silver" perpetrated by the act of 1873 discontinuing the coinage of the silver dollar preceded and conditioned this move. The measure was fully discussed and passed by both houses with no expression of Illinois opinion and there was but one yea-and-nay vote recorded, on which Trumbull supported the bill as a whole.[27] From this point to the date of resumption currency activity divided itself between efforts of paper inflationists to repeal the resumption act and those of silver inflationists to get recognition. Parallel accounts will best indicate the double development. Divergent opinions soon arose on resumption. Farwell, seemingly resigned to such action, proposed to retire and cancel $1,000,000 of greenbacks monthly until they came to a parity with gold, authorizing the secretary of the treasury to use any surplus revenue as a fund to back resumption.[28] Harrison proposed conversely to reissue sufficient greenbacks in lieu of surrendered bank notes to restore the amount of currency to the level at which it stood before the passage of the contraction features of the resumption act. He also provided for hoarding gold preparatory to resumption, which he evidently hoped would not come too quickly.[29] Party lines were sharply but not decisively drawn in three test votes on repeal of resumption during the long session of the forty-fourth congress. The house democrats (now a majority in the delegation) were less consistent in favoring their party's move for repeal than were the republicans in opposing it. This indicates a split in the democratic ranks with a minority of that party favoring stabilizing measures.[30] Several pronouncements were made on the subject of money in general and resumption in particular, among which might be noted those of W. B. Anderson (Indep. Rep.), Alexander Campbell (Indep.) and Burchard. The first, in attacking the national bank currency, upheld the greenbacks and paid his respects to resumption, stating that the Northwest demanded "repeal *unconditionally* and *at once,* that contraction may cease, that the greenback or non-interest-bearing debt shall not be changed into an interest-bearing debt, that enforced idleness by unwise legislation shall no longer exist, but that business, through its repeal, now paralyzed by it, shall resume throughout the land."[31] Campbell also attacked the national banks and opposed resumption as an agency of the money power, asserting that "The crowning act of deceit in this adroit management was the passage of the

act of the 14th of January, 1875—under the gag-rule—providing for . . . . the resumption of specie payments."[32] Burchard, however, viewed resumption with some complacency, but opposed reducing the existing amount of paper currency, claiming rather sanely that the great need was to accumulate a specie reserve with which to make resumption possible.[33]

Silver claimed a share of attention during these unsuccessful efforts in behalf of paper. In June, 1876, Logan supported a bill to secure the legal-tender value of the silver coin then in existence.[34] Somewhat earlier the house delegation had split across party lines on the passage of a proposed increase in the amount of subsidiary silver coinage to a maximum of $50,000,000.[35] In this debate Joseph G. Cannon (Rep.) upheld the right of congress to make silver legal tender in payment of debts and urged remonetization, ingeniously suggesting that the result would be "that silver, as compared with gold, will grow more valuable; gold, as compared with silver, will grow less valuable, and they will meet, each traveling half way, at about the value of the greenback; and thus we would have silver at par with gold, gold at par with silver, and the greenback at par with gold and silver."[36] The short session witnessed renewed efforts to pass a remonetization bill. Richard P. Bland's unsuccessful efforts in that direction at the previous session showed that a bill could be passed if reached in due parliamentary course and in December, 1876, a house measure provided for the free coinage of the silver dollar and restored its legal tender character. This proposal, intended to restore silver to its pre-1873 position, was supported with little comment by all the voting members of the house delegation.[37] The senate finance committee reported it without recommendation after deciding to delay action until hearing the report of a commission appointed to investigate the whole question.[38]

The forty-fifth congress met in special session in October, 1877, with a democratic majority in the house. The paper inflationists tried hard to repeal the resumption act and a bill designed to secure partial repeal occupied the major portion of the debate. Several Illinois republicans, reversing their general party solidarity in the forty-fourth congress, deserted party doctrine to support repeal. These included Fort, who was a member of the finance committee and instrumental in drafting the bill. On the other hand, only one sound-money democrat was to be found, William R. Morrison voting alone with six republicans against repeal.[39] Of the supporters of repeal three republicans expressed opinions contrary to the accepted views of their party. Cannon favored it because he feared resumption on the single gold standard, and feared that silver would not be remonetized in time to secure a bimetallic currency before the date of resumption.[40] Philip C. Hayes (Rep.) feared resumption as a fixed date, accompanied by contraction of the currency.[41] Fort felt that the people had "determined on one thing, and in due time and in due form they will enter their unalterable decree in terms that cannot be misunderstood, which is that they will preserve and maintain in circulation the legal-tender Treasury notes as their paper money, and will, if necessary, change Houses and Senates and Presidents to

attain that end."[42] Morrison justified himself by asserting that all were in favor of ultimate resumption and that the present proposal merely postponed the desirable issue without making any affirmative suggestions for future betterment.[43]

There was more unanimity in the matter of inflation by silver. The entire voting membership of the delegation united to help send Bland's free coinage bill to the senate where it rested with resumption repeal until the long session.[44] It finally passed with amendments substituting a maximum coinage of $4,000,000 per month for the free coinage proposal, was vetoed and repassed by a sectional vote.[45] No Illinois voice opposed remonetization and several favored this western-debtor proposal. The arguments for remonetization were that it would be a blow to the "money power,"[46] that it would benefit the impoverished debtors of the west,[47] that it would aid the seemingly inevitable resumption,[48] and that it was better than no remonetization, though falling far short of the complete free coinage desired by the west.[49] This bill, now called the Bland-Allison act, returned the silver dollar—"the dollar of the daddies"—to the family of coinage, made it a legal tender and provided for the purchase and coinage into 412½ grain dollars of from two to four million dollars worth of bullion per month. It was asserted in the press that the original bill ought really to have been called the Fort bill, since Bland substituted Fort's measure for his own at the first session when it appeared that the Bland proposal would encounter opposition.[50] For his activities in behalf of silver he was dubbed the "howling communist of the prairies" by Hewitt of New York.[51]

Several efforts at the last two sessions of the forty-fifth congress produced record votes on various phases of the paper money question. The delegation vacillated between partisan division and whole-hearted support of greenbacks, with the tendency being toward a split along party lines on repeal of resumption. Efforts to secure action on the repeal bill of the first session split the group along nearly partisan lines.[52] Failing to pass this measure, R. W. Townshend (Dem.) of Illinois proposed a bill to prevent the secretary of the treasury from selling bonds to aid in resumption. This was supported by four republican anti-resumptionists, including Cannon and Fort, inveterate foes of resumption, in addition to the democratic members whose party favored the measure.[53] On the simple question of making greenbacks legal tender for customs dues but one member voted nay.[54] The Fort bill forbidding further retirement of greenbacks was supported by the entire voting membership in both houses. This is the bill on which the present circulation of greenbacks is based.[55] A final effort to revive repeal failed after resumption itself had become a fact.[56]

Resumption in 1879 marks the virtual end of the paper phase of the money question. The delegation has presented a changing picture, typically reflecting the attitude of the west regarding paper, with minor variations from time to time. The agitation for currency stabilization opened with a momentary majority against the dangers of fiat money. The "Ohio idea" and the fancied needs of the west for inflation brought in a group favoring expansion by greenbacks and bank notes. Logan

took a leading part in the physical, if not the mental labor connected with the passage of the inflation bill. The record of votes and speeches down to the passage of the resumption act is one of seldom-marred inflationist sentiments. After the passage of that act in 1875 the influence of party loyalty is increasingly evident, with sufficient divergence on both sides to forbid too broad generalizations. About the time one decides that all democrats were inflationists one finds several of them upholding stabilizing measures; and when one has concluded that party loyalty united the republicans in favor of resumption and stabilization one finds some of them taking positions which would jeopardize if not prevent resumption. With this qualification it may be concluded that after the act of 1875 and during the advance of silver to major importance the votes on paper assumed an increasingly partisan aspect, the republicans, being committed to the resumption policy, for the most part held to it, while the democrats, unhampered by such a handicap, carried on the agitation for repeal. In mentioning individuals, Morrison (Dem.) and Burchard (Rep.) were among the most consistent supporters of sound money, while Logan, Cannon and Fort (Rep.) were prominent inflationists.

Turning back to silver, we find steps being taken at the special session of the forty-sixth congress to make currency legislation possible by a house rule giving such bills priority. This split the delegation along nearly partisan lines, only two republicans joining the democrats.[57] The delegation clung closely to party lines on most of the important divisions on a free coinage bill.[58] This session marks the beginning of a tendency on the part of the republicans to desert silver in the interests of party—a tendency which, with occasional group and individual variations, was to be characteristic.

The money question now retired into the background for several years. Garfield, Arthur and Cleveland in the presidential chair looked on the white metal with no favorable eye. Efforts were making for a bimetallic standard based on international agreement which were at once beyond the competence of congress and tended to estop it from action. The country was generally prosperous and production increased apace. However, the growing complexity of the new industrial society which was rising in the '80s brought with it new problems. Production outpaced consumption and prices fell. Among the many remedies advanced to relieve this situation free silver raised its troublesome head. This reappearance of silver from its decade of retirement occurred in 1890 when Cleveland and his gold-standard sentiments gave way to Harrison and a tacit promise to "do something for silver." A block of new western states, the Dakotas, Montana and Washington, admitted in 1889, sent senators to the fifty-first congress who were silver advocates first and republicans second. Their support was needed for prospective action on the tariff and in return they demanded aid for silver. Parties were so evenly balanced that it was quite probable that, unless something were done, a combination of pro-silver republicans and free-silver democrats would pass a free coinage bill. Out of this combination of tariff and fear of free silver came the Sherman silver purchase act

of 1890.[59] The opening gun was fired June 7 when Bland, perennial champion of silver, made his inevitable motion in favor of free coinage.[60] This was beaten, solidly supported by the democrats and as staunchly opposed by the republicans.[61] The bill then passed, carrying directions to purchase $4,500,000 worth of silver bullion per month and issue treasury notes in return. Again the delegation split on party lines.[62] Abner Taylor (Rep.) compared the committee's bill with that recommended by the minority calling for free coinage and said that he could not understand why "any member upon this floor who does not represent a silver-mining constituency should support the bill reported by the minority. . . . I know of no reason why the silver producer should have preference to the farmer who grows wheat."[63] L. E. Payson (Rep.) spoke volubly against the bill, and then proceeded to vote for it. He asserted[64]

> I am for the free, unlimited coinage of silver at the earliest practicable day at its present ratio. I am for the double standard—gold and silver—in our system . . . . I would be for free coinage to-day but for the fact that the commercial value of silver is so far below its coinage value that I think the difference in those values should go to the Government so long as the difference continues . . . . We ought to crush, and crush at once, the false idea that gold and gold alone is the financial standard which the American people are expected to recognize.

Edward Lane (Dem.) and J. R. Williams (Dem.) supported free coinage. Lane asserted that "What the farmers of the West want is not to borrow money and mortgage their farms, but they want money to pay off the mortgages on their farms. . . . The free coinage of silver should be established now and here. This would increase values 30 per cent. as well as the wages of labor and enable the farmer to pay that per cent. of the mortgage on his farm . . . ."[65] Williams in a typical free-silver speech urged congress to[66]

> open our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of standard silver dollars; issue silver certificates to take the place of, and circulate instead of, the silver; make those certificates a legal tender for all debts, public and private; let the national banks pass out of existence and the Government control the currency of the country; require the Secretary of the Treasury to make no further distinction between gold and silver coin in paying the interest and principal of our public debt. It will then be to the interest of these money-kings to maintain the value of the silver dollar, and when you get this power and the influence of the Government in favor of the silver dollar instead of against it, you will see silver appreciate to a parity with gold.

The senate substituted a free coinage bill for the house proposal, over the opposition of Senator Cullom,[67] and the house rejected the senate substitute. This time two republicans voted for free silver, thus breaking the strict partisan alignment of the earlier votes.[68] A conference ironed out the differences and produced the bill which was finally adopted by a party vote.[69] As enacted it provided for the purchase of four and one-half million ounces of silver per month as a basis for treasury certificates. Both sides could claim a measure of victory but the silver men got the major share for they had reopened the question and had gained something, even though the gold party had prevented passage of a free coinage bill. On the whole the record of the delegation indicated that the party influence was the most potent when it came to

casting ballots, though at times pro-silver sentiment got the better of party discipline.[70]

Some ineffective efforts made in behalf of silver in the spring of 1892 indicated that a few democrats had joined the sound money ranks,[71] but the question was so complicated by the approaching presidential election as to make conclusions difficult.[72] The question again became prominent after Cleveland's second election and prior to his inauguration. The burden entailed on the treasury by the silver-purchase act had grown onerous and the friends of the incoming executive sought to embody his known wishes in a bill repealing the Sherman act. The senate refused to consider the bill, with Illinois' senators dividing on party lines.[73] A test in the house put the members on record, but final action was not taken.[74] The panic of 1893 became so serious that Cleveland called a special session of the fifty-third congress in August to repeal the Sherman act lest the country be forced over to the silver standard. Three of the many votes were crucial in their character, and on these the lineup was fairly consistent and rather non-partisan. Five members, including four democrats and one republican, supported an amendment providing for free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one.[75] The same lineup was found in support of a proposal to re-enact the Bland-Allison act, which would have meant retention of some portion of inflation.[76] Six Illinoisans, divided equally as to party, opposed final passage of the repeal bill.[77] Illinois mustered more anti-repeal votes than the combined silver strength of Iowa (two), Minnesota, Michigan and Ohio (one each).[78] That these votes in several instances probably indicated a desire to get rid of the Sherman act and relieve the situation, rather than a definite stand on the silver question *per se* will appear from an analysis of the speeches. One who favored silver on principle should have opposed the repeal of the Sherman act, which was essentially a silver measure. Of the nine members whose remarks contained statements supporting silver five opposed repeal (Cannon, G. W. Fithian (Dem.), Lane, B. F. Marsh (Rep.) and Williams) and four supported it (A. C. Hunter (Dem.), J. J. McDannold (Dem.), P. S. Post (Rep.) and W. S. Springer (Dem.)). It would seem that these last, by speaking for silver and voting against it showed that they were acting out of party loyalty or urgent necessity rather than because of any inherent aversion to silver inflation. Of the twelve members who did not commit themselves on the subject of silver, eleven (six republicans and five democrats) opposed inflation and supported repeal, indicative as far as can be judged of sound money principles.[79] It would thus appear from analysis of the votes and speeches that twelve members were for sound money and ten for some degree of inflation. It is notable that only one spoke definitely in favor of the single gold standard (Hopkins).[80] The senate wrangled over the bill for weeks, finally passing a modified repeal measure, October 30, after voting down a free-coinage amendment which was opposed by both Chicago senators.[81] The house concurred in the amendment by a vote which added nothing to the situation already pictured.[82]

The dying effort of the silver inflationists in congress was made in 1896 when they tried once more to force through a free coinage bill.

The senate substituted a free coinage measure for a pending house bill over the opposition of Senator J. M. Palmer (Dem.).[83] The state delegation, now almost solidly republican, provided but two supporters of the proposal, Marsh and the lone democrat, F. E. Downing, voting for free silver.[84] In the speeches on the bill one finds for almost the first time reference to the desirability of a single gold standard. C. W. Woodman (Rep.) made a strong plea, saying[85]

> The "silver question," so called, according to my understanding, is at present simply a renewal of the old greenback idea—that of stamping something with the United States coat of arms and calling it money . . . . Were we an isolated nation . . . . the greenbacks or Treasury notes would be the proper medium of exchange. But we are not. Our immense imports and exports compel recognition of the fact that our medium of exchange must be the same as that of the commercial nations of the civilized world. Gold is the only metal which has succeeded in maintaining that position. It may not be just, it may not be right, in theory, but we are dealing with facts, not theories, and this is the fact.

It might also be noted that although free coinage was by now taboo with most of the republicans, several of them still looked longingly at bimetallism, and said rather wistfully that they wished it might be achieved by international agreement, since it was no longer practicable as a national proposition. Vespasian Warner voiced this idea by saying that he would be glad[86]

> if through the instrumentality of an international congress silver is made money at a fixed and permanent value, but I am not now in favor of attempting to give silver a fictitious value in this country alone for the benefit of all the other nations. I am not in favor of making this country the dumping ground for all the silver of the world, and I am not in favor of forever saying good-bye to gold.

And the swan song of silver was sung by Benson Wood who, while voting against free coinage, asked his fellow-members (and possibly his constituents) sorrowfully[87]

> If silver be a good money metal—and everybody here professes to be its friend—why should it not circulate among the people to the extent of its coinage, or at least to the extent of the demand upon it as a circulating medium? . . . . Why should the Government be subjected to the expense of building and strengthening vaults, in which to store the standard silver dollar if it be true, that the people favor its use and are anxious for its unlimited coinage? Money unsuitable or inconvenient for general use certainly ought not to be coined in large or unlimited quantities.

The currency battle was now transferred to a larger arena in the election of 1896 and the question did not reappear in congress until the movement for the definite legal recognition of the gold standard tacitly recognized by repeal of the Sherman act and triumphant in the election of McKinley. It was not until December, 1899, however, that the republican leaders felt themselves strong enough to write *finis* to the silver story.[88] When the gold standard bill passed the house December 18 it split the delegation along party lines. Several of the democrats argued for bimetallism and free silver and E. T. Noonan (Dem.) pronounced the valedictory of the inflationists by attacking the gold dollar as a standard, and asserting that he was "satisfied as to the fallacy of such a proposition and the futility of such a permanent policy."[89]

The development of sentiment on the silver phase was similar to that on paper: a period of non-partisan inflationism gave way with some exceptions to a party division. Through the year 1878 the tendency was to stand unitedly for silver, while drawing the lines of party in the later votes on paper. When the democrats got control of the forty-sixth congress and began to pass free-coinage bills a stricter drawing of party lines became evident and was the governing factor in the situation throughout the rest of the controversy. This must be qualified by remembering that there were several republicans who supported silver to the detriment of party loyalty,[90] as had been the case during paper inflationism. Further, it may well be doubted whether a sound money republican vote was always a true index of the sentiments of the member who cast it. On the whole, however, the power of party outweighed the interest of section on the question.

The gold standard act ended a long fight to give stability to the currency. It remained to provide elasticity. The panic of 1907 demonstrated that the existing supply of currency was not sufficiently flexible to expand before a sudden need. The Aldrich-Vreeland act was passed in 1908 providing for $500,000,000 additional national bank notes issuable in emergency. Again the party division was notable in the delegation, only G. W. Prince (Rep.) voting with the democrats in opposition to the bill. A. J. Sabath (Dem.) urged that the government issue its own notes without the intervention of the banks and charged that the currency-issue system as then organized was run in the interests of Wall street.[91] By its terms a temporary measure, the Aldrich-Vreeland act set up the machinery for securing information as a basis of permanent legislation. The result was the federal reserve act which a democratic congress passed under the caucus whip in 1914. This still further and more permanently secured a supply of emergency currency. Party outweighed economics with the delegation in the original passage of the bill in the house and a split on mainly party lines resulted with the democrats now supporting and the republicans opposing a bill to perpetuate the principle of the Aldrich-Vreeland act on which the alignment had been exactly opposite.[92] Mann pointed with pride to the republican act which had produced the research on which the bill was based, and to the prosperity which had blessed the country under the supposedly antiquated currency laws then in effect. Later in discussing the conference report he tried for political reasons to put the democrats in a bad light by accusing them of trying to inflate the currency. He charged that the United States and Mexico were prostrate, labor was out of work, and that the democrats offered "the same thing which has always been offered in every case of hard times. You propose to revive business by inflating the currency, with no method devised for the redemption of the notes issued except voluntarily. There never has been a time in the history of our country when hard times struck the country that you people did not propose an inflation of the currency." His was the sole negative vote in the state delegation when the bill finally passed.[93] Martin B. Madden (Rep.), who was a prominent opponent, urged delay, charged that the democrats were forcing the measure

through on a political rather than an economic basis, and moved numerous perfecting amendments, none of which was accepted.[94] It was quite evident that the republicans opposed the bill because it was a democratic measure and not on its merits. This was pointed out by Louis Fitzhenry (Dem.), a member of the committee which framed the bill, who asserted that when "the enemies of this measure found themselves unable to seriously criticize any material provision in this bill they resorted to the false cry that the present majority in the House of Representatives was trying to surreptitiously destroy the present standard of value of our financial system. This contention is purely malicious and wholly without foundation, for not one word in the bill . . . . even refers to a change of the established standards of value in this country."[95]

In closing this footnote to the paragraph of currency history we may conclude that the two main phases of the money question produced a similar development of thought and action on the part of the delegation. The course taken by Illinois on both the paper and silver aspects of currency inflation was one from unity to diversity, from non-partisan support to a largely party alignment. As with paper, so with silver, when economic interests alone were involved, the tendency was to reflect the attitude of the debtor west seeking to repay its obligations in cheap money. When, however, economics made room for politics as a major factor in the general situation, the latter element loomed ever larger in the opinion of Illinoisans as reflected in their votes and speeches. The westward movement of the debtor frontier with the passing years probably helps to explain this lack of coherence in the group. This left the state relatively less closely attentive to the demands of the importunate and the impecunious. Wanting the urge of a common need the members fell more easily into the arms of party allegiance clamoring for votes as political weapons.

CHAPTER IV—NOTES

[1] This chapter, an expansion of the earlier study to include the entire state delegation, was read before the Society at its annual meeting, May 8, 1930.

[2] *Globe*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 691.

[3] *Globe*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 679-81. The bill split the house delegation on nearly partisan lines. *House journal, ibid.*, 279.

[4] Passed the house March 23, supported by five republicans and three democrats and opposed by four republicans. The republicans split badly but the democrats voted solidly for contraction. *House journal*, 39th cong., 1st sess., 458. Passed the senate April 9, supported by Trumbull. *Senate journal, ibid.*, 322.

[5] *Globe*, 39th cong., 1st sess., 1431.

[6] They favored tabling a resolution instructing the banking and currency committee to report a bill temporarily stopping the withdrawal of greenbacks. Dec. 17, 1866. *House journal*, 39th cong., 2d sess., 83.

[7] Dec. 7, 1867. *House journal*, 40th cong., 2d sess., 54-5; *senate journal, ibid.*, 104.

[8] A. B. Hepburn, *History of Currency in the United States, with a Brief Description of the Currency Systems of all Commercial Nations* (New York, 1915), 215.

[9] *House journal*, 41st cong., 1st sess., 34. This probably indicates no change toward sound money, as the vote in congress as a whole was largely a party stand.

[10] Early in the session Ebon C. Ingersoll (Rep.) introduced a bill to increase the legal-tenders by $44,000,000. It slumbered in the hostile banking and currency committee. *House journal*, 41st cong., 2d sess., 46-7; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 12, 16, 1869.

[11] *House journal*, 41st cong., 2d sess., 356-57. H. C. Burchard (Rep.) was the only opponent. He was quite consistently for sound money.

[12] *Senate journal*, 41st cong., 2d sess., 293-94.

[13] For the speeches see *Globe*, 41st cong., 2d sess., 3937, 4965. The bill withdrew $45,000,000 of 3% temporary loan certificates so that the actual extent of inflation was but $9,000,000. *Ibid.*, 4475, 4964, 5302-3; *house journal*, *ibid.*, 1004, 1006-7, 1171-72.

[14] "I do not believe we can ever have a sound currency in this country, have a proper circulation that shall be convertible, while we have three or four hundred millions of paper money in circulation which by law is made a legal tender for the payment of debts." *Globe*, 42d cong., 2d sess., 4074.

[15] "I have never, in the course of my life, more thoroughly devoted myself to the consideration of any question than I have during the past two weeks, when not engaged in the Senate, to the subject now before the Congress . . . ." The sound money press chaffed him unmercifully for his somewhat naive assertion of authority.

[16] *The Congressional Record* (Washington, 1874ff.), 43d cong., 1st sess., 752-60.

[17] Burchard opposed the bill and John B. Rice (Rep.) supported the contraction amendment. *House journal*, 43d cong., 1st sess., 644-46, 648-49. It was not acted on in the senate.

[18] Here also an amendment fixing a $356,000,000 maximum was defeated with the aid of Illinois votes. *Senate journal*, 43d cong., 1st sess., 383-84, 434.

[19] *House journal*, 43d cong., 1st sess., 801-2. Two democrats and one republican made up the opposition.

[20] Illinois voted to override the veto, April 20. *Senate journal*, 43d cong., 1st sess., 505.

[21] For his principal speeches see *Record*, 43d cong., 1st sess., 752ff., 1622, 3433; *ibid.*, appendix, 122-37.

[22] *Record*, 43d cong., 1st sess., 1637-39.

[23] *Record*, 43d cong., 1st sess., 731-35, 2743-49.

[24] *Record*, 43d cong., 1st sess., 1502-6.

[25] *Record*, 43d cong., 1st sess., 1499-1502.

[26] As passed it provided for contraction of the greenbacks to a maximum of $300,000,000 as well as for resumption of specie payments. *Senate journal*, 43d cong., 2d sess., 68; *house journal*, *ibid.*, 138-39; Rhodes, *op. cit.*, VII, 134; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 9, 1875. The vote was not an accurate criterion of opinion on the question of inflation.

[27] Jan. 10, 1871. *Senate journal*, 41st cong., 3d sess., 108. Hepburn, *op. cit.*, 271-73 has effectively laid low the contention that the bill was smuggled through congress. Passed the house May 27, 1872. *House journal*, 42d cong., 2d sess., 982. Passed the senate Jan. 17, 1873. *Senate journal*, 42d cong., 3d sess., 171.

[28] Text in *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1875. The house did not act on it.

[29] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 15. 1875. It also slumbered in committee.

[30] *House journal*, 44th cong., 1st sess., 202-3, 1058-9, 1392-93; *Chicago Daily Times*, Jan. 18, 1876.

[31] *Record*, 44th cong., 1st sess., 2975-78.

[32] *Record*, 44th cong., 1st sess., 744-45.

[33] *Record*, 44th cong., 1st sess., 4975-82.

[34] *Record*, 44th cong., 1st sess., 4208-9.

[35] *House journal*, 44th cong., 1st sess., 1088, 1261-62.

[36] *Record*, 44th cong., 1st sess., appendix, 194-98.

[37] *House journal*, 44th cong., 2d sess., 72-73.

[38] *Senate journal*, 44th cong., 1st sess., 109-10.

[39] The delegation split twelve in favor of repeal to seven opposed, with more republicans leaning toward the democratic inflationist position than there were democrats who supported the republican resumptionist position. *House journal*, 45th cong., 1st sess., 264-65; *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 3, 24, 1877.

[40] *Record*, 45th cong., 1st sess., 491-92.

[41] *Record*, 45th cong., 1st sess., appendix, 8-11.

[42] *Record*, 45th cong., 1st sess., 623-25.

[43] *Record*, 45th cong., 1st sess., 714.

[44] Three republican members were absent from the vote. *House journal*, 45th cong., 1st sess., 143-44.

[45] Both Illinois senators supported it. *Senate journal*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 209; *house journal, ibid.*, 549-50.

[46] Hayes. *Record*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 908.

[47] William Aldrich (Rep.) and Fort. *Record*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 887; *ibid.*, appendix, 82.

[48] Hayes and T. F. Tipton (Rep.). *Record*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 601, 908.

[49] This idea of half a loaf being better than no bread was most frequently expressed. See remarks of Harrison, Eden, Fort, T. J. Henderson (Rep.), R. M. Knapp (Dem.), and R. W. Townshend (Dem.). *Record*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 1279, 1283; *ibid.*, appendix, 50, 61, 81.

[50] *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 30, 1878: "The Silver bill, which bears the name of Bland, is really the Fort bill that was reported from the Banking and Currency Committee, but Bland obtained the floor to pass some bill, and, knowing that his own would encounter more opposition, substituted the Fort bill. The bill to repeal the resumption act was also the Fort bill. . . ."

[51] *Record*, 45th cong., 2d sess., appendix, 81.

[52] The resumption repeal bill passed the house at the first session and was amended by the senate to make greenbacks acceptable in payment for the bonds authorized to aid resumption, and for payment of import duties after October 1, 1878. *Senate journal*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 688-89; *Chicago Tribune*, June 14, 1878. Two ineffectual efforts were made to get action in the house on the amended bill and in both cases the lineup of the delegation was almost entirely by party. *House journal, ibid.*, 1308-9, 1406.

[53] Opposition to the bill was made up entirely of republicans. *House journal*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 1414-15; *Chicago Tribune*, June 19, 1878.

[54] *House journal*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 1423.

[55] *House journal*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 969-70. The *Tribune* correspondent remarked that "The passage of this bill is something of a triumph for Col. Fort, as the house banking and currency committee, of which he is a member, refused to let him report it, yet it passed the House by a two-thirds vote when first submitted, and has passed the Senate after having been considered but one day." *Chicago Tribune*, May 29, 1878.

[56] *House journal*, 45th cong., 3d sess., 498-99; *Record, ibid.*, 1789-90.

[57] Apr. 9, 1879. One of these was Fort, who easily transferred his inflationist sentiments from paper to silver. *House journal*, 46th cong., 1st sess., 54-5, 74-5.

[58] An occasional republican bolt for free silver and a few democratic votes cast in opposition marred an otherwise consistent party division. *House journal*, 46th cong., 1st sess., 220-22-21, 335-36, 395-96. The most prominent bolters were Cannon, Fort and B. F. Marsh on the republican side and Morrison, who left the democrats to oppose inflation.

[59] Summary of the situation after Hepburn, *op. cit.*, 297-301; Rhodes, *op. cit.*, VIII, 351-58.

[60] He moved to recommit a senate bill bearing on the money question with instructions to report a free silver bill.

[61] June 7. *House journal*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 714.

[62] *House journal*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 715.

[63] *Record*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 5666.

[64] *Record*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 5790.

[65] *Record*, 51st cong., 1st sess., appendix, 347-52.

[66] *Record*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 5665.

[67] *Senate journal*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 376-77. Senator Farwell's vote was not recorded on this measure, but at an earlier date he had gone on record as favoring the acceptance and coinage of all the silver offered, at its market value. *Record, ibid.*, 5527.

[68] *House journal*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 785.

[69] *House journal*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 854-55.

[70] This was practically a free coinage measure as passed, since the amount specified was in excess of the then production of the mines.

[71] Three democrats, two of them from Chicago, voted to table Bland's free coinage measure. *House journal*, 52d cong., 1st sess., 113; *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 26, 1892.

[72] "The Democratic majority in the House is as much for free silver as ever, and there are not more than fifty-five honest anti-free-coinage Democrats. But there are plenty of them who would exhaust every means to put off a vote till the short session. Then they are ready to pass a free-coinage bill with a hurrah!" *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 29, 1892.

[73] *Senate journal*, 52d cong., 2d sess., 89.

[74] The test was on a parliamentary question concerning the consideration of a repeal bill. Taylor and A. J. Hopkins (Rep.) were leaders of the western republicans who held that there was no call to open the silver question at the time. Two democrats joined their opposition to the wishes of the president. *House journal*, 52d cong., 2d sess., 83; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 10, 1893.

[75] G. W. Fithian, A. J. Hunter, Lane and Williams were the democrats and the lone republican was P. S. Post. *House journal*, 53d cong., 1st sess., 18. Seven democrats and ten republicans opposed this.

[76] *House journal*, 53d cong., 1st sess., 21.

[77] The opponents included Fithian, Lane and Williams, who had supported free coinage efforts on earlier votes, and Cannon, Marsh and Smith from the republican side of the group. *House journal*, 53d cong., 1st sess., 22. It will thus be seen that Hunter and Post faced both ways, voting both for free silver and for repeal, and that Cannon, Marsh and Smith opposed both free silver and repeal. It therefore appears that only three members, Fithian, Lane and Williams, all democrats, were consistent in their support of silver. *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 29, 1893.

[78] *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 31, 1893.

[79] The other, Smith, opposed both inflation and repeal, indicating moderate silver sentiments.

[80] The speeches on which the foregoing analysis is based may be found under the following references: *Record*, 53d cong., 1st sess., 439-43, 564-67, 618-23, 716-18, 754-59, 847-49, 902-4, 907-8, 911-12, 981-82; *ibid.*, appendix, 83-89, 103-5. Of those favoring silver six were democrats and four republicans, while the sound money element consisted of five democrats and seven republicans.

[81] *Senate journal*, 53d cong., 1st sess., 84, 89.

[82] *House journal*, 53d cong., 1st sess., 163.

[83] *Senate journal*, 54th cong., 1st sess., 105.

[84] *House journal*, 54th cong., 1st sess., 210-11.

[85] *Record*, 54th cong., 1st sess., 1568. Senator Palmer made a strong attack on bimetallism, asserting that the "unlimited coinage of silver, with legal-tender quality, on the ratio of 16 to 1 would operate precisely as would a law prohibiting the coinage or use of gold coin in the United States, and give silver the monopoly of American coinage. . . ." *Ibid.*, 4921-29.

[86] *Record*, 54th cong., 1st sess., 1671. Walter Reeves echoed this sentiment. *Ibid.*, 1538.

[87] *Record*, 54th cong., 1st sess., 1667.

[88] In 1898 an effort was made to force the free silver issue. A resolution reciting that the bonds of the United States might be paid in silver

split the delegation along party lines. *Record*, 55th cong., 2d sess., 1173, 1309.

[89] *Record*, 56th cong., 1st sess., appendix, 188. W. E. Williams, J. R. Williams and B. F. Caldwell (Dem.) also spoke for silver. *Record*, *ibid.*, 416-17, 454-56, 508.

[90] These included Marsh and Post, as well as Cannon in the earlier stages of the agitation.

[91] *Record*, 60th cong., 1st sess., appendix, 464-68. For the vote and other remarks see *Record*, *ibid.*, 1630, 6294.

[92] In six cases the personnel involved in this switch was identical. M. D. Foster, H. T. Rainey, J. T. McDermott and Sabath supported the federal reserve act in contrast to their position on the Aldrich-Vreeland act, and the opposite reversal was made by Madden and Mann. *Record*, 63d cong., 1st sess., 5129.

[93] *Record*, 63d cong., 1st sess., 5100; *ibid.*, 2d sess., 1463.

[94] *Record*, 63d cong., 1st sess., 4704-6, 4983, 5025.

[95] *Record*, 63d cong., 1st sess., appendix, 331.

CHAPTER V

REGULATION OF RAILROADS

Postwar railroad expansion induced a train of evils lengthening with increased trackage. Watered stock, rate wars, discriminations and reckless management brought demand for regulation. This sentiment was first manifest in state legislation but such control was neither uniform nor effective and the cry went up for federal supervision of the carriers. John H. Reagan (Dem.) of Texas was the congressional apostle of this movement and for years discussion centered around his proposal to regulate interstate commerce by a specific national law enforceable either in federal or state courts. Senator Cullom of Illinois championed a commission type of regulation less distasteful to the roads themselves. In choosing between these remedies the Chicago delegation quite consistently favored the Cullom plan which in essentials became the interstate commerce act of 1887.[1]

The Reagan bill first became prominent in the forty-fifth congress. The Chicago members did not debate it, but opposed it unitedly.[2] It passed the house December 11, 1878,[3] again without debate, but L. Brentano (Rep.) claimed to speak the mind of the united delegation in a newspaper interview:[4]

> The members from Chicago held a consultation about the position they should take in regard to the bill, and we came to the conclusion that it looked very suspicious that the railroads did not make any efforts to prevent the passage of the bill, which seemed to be ostensibly against their interest. The provision that higher rates should not be charged to a nearer point than a farther one would have a tendency to increase immeasurably the through rates between the principal Western cities and Eastern seaboards, and therefore injure the shipping and commercial interests of Chicago, which are dependent entirely on favorable through rates. We considered this sufficient reason to vote against the bill, which seemed to us to be more in favor of the railroads than of the people, for whose relief, it is claimed, it was introduced.

In 1884-85 it passed the house and Cullom led the Senate to substitute his commission plan, causing rate regulation to fail in confer-

ence. The Chicago vote was again non-partisan in opposition.[5] Two members spoke. Adams attacked the long and short haul clause in the interest of the Chicago Belt Line, a freight-transfer encircling the city and cutting all the entering trunk lines. He argued that the proposed clause would prevent collection of adequate compensation for its short-distance transportation.[6] George R. Davis (Rep.), a member of the commerce committee, upheld its proposal which provided only for investigation and a report as a basis of further action. He was at once solicitous of the interests of the roads and of the lakeside city. He cautioned against setting up an ironclad rule such as Reagan proposed, saying: "I am still of the belief that if there is any one question toward which we should move with extreme care and caution, it is the prescribing of a rule of conduct for the government of the managers of the great railway systems of this country in the transportation of our supplies." He opined that less severe treatment would yield better results than the rigid Reagan measure. He showed how the long and short haul clause burdened Chicago and middle western shippers as compared with those nearer the eastern seaboard. His argument states the position of Chicago as a shipping point so well as to merit quotation at some length:[7]

> The Western farmer by reason of water transportation can command a reasonable rate on his product to New York, and yet you propose to prohibit him the use of the railway unless the Pennsylvania, New York, West Virginia, and other farmers with no such advantages, located hundreds of miles farther from New York commercially than the Western farmer, shall be allowed to send their crops to market on the basis of the Western farmer's advantages, to the detriment and increase of cost to the latter.
>
> The point I wish to fix in this connection is this, that this substitute [the Reagan bill] discriminates in favor of a town geographically nearer New York against our people of the West who are commercially nearer New York. You deprive us in the West of the use of the railroad; you take from the railroad the freight, in order to secure or attempt to secure to the man through whose town a railroad runs—now getting transportation at rates he could never dream of except for this through freight—even better rates than he now enjoys at our expense. . . .
>
> It is possible that this provision, should it become law, might aid in equalizing freights to some points in Illinois and the West, but it can not accomplish more in this direction than will be secured by a commission; and to pass this arbitrary law will, in my opinion, reduce the value of every farm in the West. . . .

A similar deadlock in 1886 was the prelude to the enactment of the law of 1887. The senate passed the Cullom commission plan and the house substituted the Reagan bill. The two measures went to a conference which outlasted the session. The Chicago delegation was now composed of two democrats and two republicans and one of the former J. D. Ward, remained true to his party and voted for the Reagan bill, while Frank Lawler sided with the republicans.[8] R. W. Dunham (Rep.), a grain and provision merchant and former president of the Chicago Board of Trade, had succeeded Davis on the commerce committee and fell heir to his anti-Reagan sentiments. He termed that gentleman's bill "unwise, uncalled for, unjust, and if ever enacted into law is so proscriptive in its terms that it will defeat itself. . . ." He

repeated the arguments against the long and short haul clause and urged a commission.[9] Reagan's determined stand in the protracted conference secured a compromise embodying some provisions of his bill, while enacting essentially the commission idea. The united delegation supported the completed measure.[10] Dunham rejoiced in the vindication of the proper principles, and repeated his attack on the long and short haul clause which the conference had retained. He renewed his contention that its operation would hurt the western farmer and stated his position as follows:[11]

> I believe the lower rate of freight, or a lower rate of freight on a long over a short haul that has been charged by railroad companies in the past fifteen years, has surely brought about favorable results to many sections of the United States. I admit that there may have been towns, there may have been counties or sections of the country, or classes of the people who have felt that they were injured because trainloads of property passed through their towns at a lower rate than they themselves were allowed to have; but as a general thing, and on the whole, I am confident the low long-haul charge has proved beneficial to the United States.

The foregoing exemplifies union of the delegation across party lines on a matter believed to be of local importance. It is also typical in that consistency was not too consistent, since on at least one occasion the call of party outweighed loyalty to locality.

The efficiency of the act was speedily vitiated. Its loosely drawn provisions made possible the renewal of old abuses. The courts aided by decisions limiting the powers of the commission. They also constituted themselves copartners in administering the law, thus delaying and complicating action. Prior to 1906 many efforts at amendment were made, in the course of which the name of James R. Mann of Chicago became more and more prominent. In 1897 Chicago votes aided the roads in their desperate effort to amend the law to permit pooling.[12] John C. Black's (Dem.) voice was the only one raised in favor of the roads. He described the competition which was bankrupting many of them and asserted that the proposed bill suggested[13]

> the most complete system of safeguarding the interests of all classes and regulating unjust and unwise rivalry. It provides that the great parties in interest, the railroads themselves, may name their rates. . . . It provides that these rates shall not become operative until submitted to the . . . . Interstate Commerce Commission; and provides that, in the event of such rates being unsatisfactory to any of the parties thereto, review may be allowed to the courts. . . . I can not conceive of a completer system of safeguards than that. . . .

The fifty-fifth congress saw Mann's first prominence in railroad matters. A bill pending before the commerce committee of which he was a member prohibited carriers from supplying tickets to other than authorized agents. This was popularly known as the anti-scalping bill. He attacked it in a minority report and a speech on the floor as failing to reach the heart of the trouble which was need of a thorough revision of the interstate commerce act.[14] His speech showed how the situation had changed since the passage of that measure. In the earlier day it had been desired to curb the roads as little as possible, in the interests of the middle western shippers. Now, according to the communications

on which he based his remarks, it was generally realized that the roads had used unfairly their opportunities under the act and taken such liberties as to merit drastic punishment, an object best attained by largely increasing the commission's powers.[15]

Matters reached such a pass that in 1905 Roosevelt demanded railroad legislation, resulting in the Hepburn act of 1906. When the proposal first came up Mann was quoted in a newspaper interview against increasing the powers of the commission,[16] and was charged with favoring the roads at the expense of shippers. He denied the accusation, asserting that he merely objected to the particular measure before the committee and had himself been at work for months on a bill granting the commission the very power he had been accused of opposing.[17] He took a large part in framing the Hepburn bill and voted with other members of the state delegation for the Esch-Townsend bill giving the commission power to fix rates, as it finally passed the house.[18] He later introduced a bill embodying his own idea of a desirable settlement of the vexed question. This proposed that in case of a dispute between shipper and carrier the former might appeal to the commission, which would take summary jurisdiction and decide as to the reasonableness of the charge.[19] The ruling once made as to what constituted a reasonable rate, it was to remain the maximum for five years. Appeals might be taken to the courts and judgments were enforceable through equity proceedings. The novel features were the effort to secure speedy action and the five-year provision.

A new congress brought a new program. The composite Hepburn-Dolliver bill passed the house and after a stormy experience emerged from conference as the Hepburn act. Public pressure on the overwhelming republican majority made action rather a matter of detail than of principle. Chicago votes supported the administration bill empowering the commission to fix reasonable maximum rates.[20] Again Mann bore the burden of debate, assisted by Madden, who voiced the widespread dislike of the prevalent discriminatory devices used by the roads and advocated giving the commission power to fix maximum rates with appeal to the courts in case of dissatisfaction.[21] Mann's argument bore on the constitutional aspects of the measure.[22] It asserted that allowing the commission to fix rates was unconstitutional, being a delegation of legislative power. He held that the legislative assertion that a rate must be "just, reasonable, and fairly remunerative" was as complete a definition as if congress had levied a charge of fifty cents per hundred pounds, and that the commission in construing the definition was merely acting as an administrative body. He carefully omitted discussion of the proposed court of transportation, which the press had accused him of helping to smother.[23] He asserted the immeasurable superiority of the present bill, with its provision for fixing maximum rates, over those of the previous session conferring absolute ratemaking power on the commission. Unlike Madden, he did not come out flat-footedly for judicial review of the commission's decisions. The constitutional lawyers of the senate, notably Philander C. Knox, forced the adoption of this provision and the heart of the bill was a restoration

of the original intent of the Cullom bill, namely, that the commission might say, subject to judicial review, what rates were reasonable.[24] The main points of interest in connection with the debate were the general apathy of the delegation and Mann's increasingly important part in the legislation.

The railroads next came before congress when Taft forced the action leading to the Mann-Elkins act of 1910. Mann's prominent part in this legislation may be described briefly as first, opposition to the administration plan, then a composition of differences, and finally an active and effective championing of the bill. The newly chosen chairman of the commerce committee was forced to forfeit railway tickets, a vacation and a trip to Panama with his committee when Taft's summons to a conference called him from the very shadow of the station. Out of the meeting came the word that the president planned to revise the interstate commerce act and desired Mann's assistance in drafting the new measure.[25] It was soon evident that the two differed on the question of a special court to try rate dispute cases. Mann refused to introduce the administration bill including this feature and brought in a plan of his own creating a "bureau of transportation" in the department of commerce and labor. An aggrieved shipper might complain to the commissioner of the bureau who would investigate and, if the facts warranted, would report to the attorney general, who in turn would file a petition with the interstate commerce commission and prosecute the case at government expense.[26]

Senator Stephen B. Elkins introduced the administration bill creating the commerce court while the house committee wrangled over the general bill. Mann voted with the democrats in the committee against the court, but Taft's pressure forced a favorable report on this section of the bill.[27] Beaten on this proposition, he nevertheless favored the bill as a whole and signed the report which brought it before the house. The fact was that his power in the committee was sufficient to force into the Townsend (administration) bill most of his own ideas save the exclusion of the court. In return for these concessions and the right to manage the bill on the floor he put a quietus on his anti-court sentiments.[28] He opened the debate March 12, 1910 in an exhaustive speech of explanation and defense. He upheld the court and argued effectively for the clause eliminating the joker which had devitalized the long and short haul clause of the act of 1887, and for that allowing the roads to make rate agreements.[29] He carried the bill to passage and in the conference committee contended so successfully with the senate moguls, Elkins and Nelson W. Aldrich, that the final act was essentially the house bill. The delegation split on party lines in the final vote.[30] By this time Madden had become interested in railroad legislation and supported the bill in an able speech. After warmly commending the court section he took up his hobby, a proposed inventory of the physical property of the roads as a basis for reducing freight rates, which he contended were based on overvaluation and hence too high.[31] He secured the adoption in committee of the whole of an amendment embodying his

idea, urging that "The time has come when the American people ought to know whether the securities issued against the railroad properties of the country are in excess of the property against which they are issued. The time has come when we should know what the earning power of the roads is in comparison to the amount of money invested in them." Mann fought the amendment, charging that valuation would increase rather than decrease rates, and it was not included in the final act.[32] Sabath, speaking for the democrats, attacked the bill, charging that the court scheme would weaken the commission and serve no purpose beyond giving jobs to the faithful. He favored increasing the commission's powers and objected to having its acts reviewable by the commerce court.[33] As passed the main features of the act were the commerce court and provisions increasing the power of the commission over rates and giving it control over telephone and telegraph lines. While the party division on the merits of the whole bill is the main factor to be noted, there is also a perceptible difference between the attitudes of its two republican defenders. Madden endorsed the court provision without executive prompting and favored physical valuation, both features calculated primarily to benefit the shipper rather than the roads. Mann, however, was less careful of the interests of the shippers, being forced to support the court, opposing physical valuation and supporting an amendment which would benefit the roads by authorizing them to acquire stock in non-competing companies.[34] These were differences of degree rather than kind, as both favored reform of existing conditions, and Mann's efforts were undoubtedly determinant in fashioning the act.

The last important prewar legislation was an act of 1913 enacting physical valuation. This was the first attempt to lay a factual basis for the definition of "just and reasonable" rates which had so long been part of the legislation on the subject. Mann and Madden were the only Chicagoans to speak on the measure, which started the interstate commerce commission on a survey lasting long after the war. Mann favored it rather half-heartedly, preferring a law regulating the issuance and manipulation of stocks and bonds by the roads. He had urged this idea during the debates of 1910 and now moved it as an amendment, but it was ruled out of order. Madden's able speech repeated many earlier arguments and criticized the whole theory of rate legislation as exemplified in existing practice, which had been primarily concerned with the welfare and income of the carrier. He contended that the

> true rule is that if the public be well served at fair and reasonable rates, or rates fixed under really competition [sic] conditions then there should be no reduction of rates so long as they produce only a reasonable return on the property. This rule of rate making compels the rate-fixing authority to begin at the shipper's side of the question and to only take up the carrier's side if that becomes necessary; that is to say, when it is alleged that fair and reasonable rates for the shipper are confiscatory of the carrier's property.

He charged that the administration of existing laws had tended to "make the Government the guarantor and underwriter of profits" for the roads. The remedy for this situation was not, as the administration bill provided, a property valuation of every individual line, but rather of some ten great systems, each controlling many subsidiary lines, for

whose benefit rates were kept up. By evaluating these and allowing the commission power to reduce rates on its own initiative, which his substitute bill provided, the large roads would be put under control and through them the dependent smaller lines might be regulated as well.[35] His substitute was not acted on but indicates significantly the attitude of at least one member of the delegation on the question of shippers versus railroads. The administration bill passed both houses without a yea-and-nay vote.[36]

The war ushered in new and disturbing problems.[37] The president urged government operation and control of the roads and such a bill was passed early in 1918.[38] No member opposed the measure, though some republicans objected to giving the president power to initiate rates, a virtual emasculation of the interstate commerce commission.[39] Foss also urged that the period of federal control be as short as possible, lest continuation lead to dreams of government ownership.[40] The polysyllabic Lewis, perhaps animated by wartime necessities, uttered sentiments which must have caused consternation among the shades of his party forebears. As a defense measure he justified a paternalism hitherto encountered only in the realms of fancy, saying that

> this bill initiates the policy of this Government into the ownership not only of the railroads but into that era of the ownership of the telegraph and the telephone in America, to be followed by the ownership or the control of the agencies of fuel, those natural agencies—coal and oil—and all that, in order that this Government may no longer and never in the hereafter be paralyzed in its necessary governmental undertakings because of the monopoly of private ownership of those public utilities essential to the public welfare of the Republic.

He traced the controversy between private and public ownership back to the Ming dynasty in China (850 B. C.), and informed the presiding officer that nothing would so contribute to a sense of security among all classes "as to assure them by our legislation that all of the agencies produced by nature for their welfare have been taken charge of by their great trustee, their Government, to be administered in their behalf."[41]

Cessation of hostilities brought a movement to do away with government control. The problem of means was answered by the Esch-Cummins law of 1920 providing for termination on terms favorable to the roads and taking advanced ground on general questions of regulation. New liberties were given to the roads, under supervision of the commission, in permitting combinations and consolidations between labor and capital and by setting up the railway labor board. Madden was the first to put himself on record with a concrete scheme involving private ownership of the roads combined with greatly increased centralization of control. He would repeal all existing prohibitions on consolidations, pools and mergers and permit the use of such devices under the jurisdiction of a new regional commerce commission headed by a director of transportation. This would consist of five groups of five men each, appointed virtually for life, acting by groups on local matters and as a unit on national questions. In addition he would give it control over securities, rates, working conditions and wages, and important extensions of plant and equipment.[42]

The Esch bill, foundation of the final act, passed the house with the Chicago delegation divided along party lines.[43] No member expressed an opinion on its merits. Senator McCormick moved a substitute to the labor board proposal embodying the Canadian plan, intended to speed settlements and forbidding striking within sixty days after the tribunal had rendered a decision, but it was twice voted down.[44] Madden and Mason spoke on the bill. The former supported the conference report but was none too cordial toward the labor board.[45] Mason's opposition to the report and vote against the bill followed the common objection to the provisions guaranteeing holders of railroad stock a certain return on their investment. "Surely," he said, "capital was never so coddled and favored as in this bill. Why not guarantee the farmer's wife that her hens will lay eggs . . . . feeling as I do that this is favoritism toward one class of investors, that it is class legislation of the very worst sort, that it is paternalism of the worst kind, I can not and will not support this measure."[46] His was the only vote in the delegation cast on other than party lines.[47]

The attitude of the delegation on the Reagan bill presents a largely non-partisan combination of local interest and good-will toward the carriers. The prevailing note was opposition to the long and short haul clause as a burden on the west. The Reagan bill induced further opposition by a rigidity which rendered it less acceptable to the roads than the more flexible commission plan. This preference for the Cullom measure was doubtless a remnant of the earlier attitude that the roads were to be aided and protected by all means, superimposed on a practical situation rendering regulation imperative. In the later legislation the tendency, following somewhat tardily that of the country, was an increasing solicitude for the welfare of the shipper, evidenced by support of measures increasing the powers of the interstate commerce commission. This is complicated somewhat by a tendency toward party voting in the later years, not as marked, however, as in other cases.

Perhaps the most notable fact is the comparative lack of interest in a question so important to a city prominent in and dependent on the railroad system. Granting the intricacies of the subject and the accidents of committee assignments, it would seem that local interest would have induced more than two members to become prominently identified with railroad legislation. Of these Madden was the more progressive and Mann the more important. Madden's emphasis on the well-being of the shipper, his support of the commerce court and his desire for physical valuation of railroad property were more in line with popular sentiment than Mann, who was less ready to take up the successive advances which public opinion forced on the legislature. The latter started his career on railroad legislation by favoring complete revision of the interstate commerce act, but later became more conservative and rather followed than led in taking up reform measures. Once enlisted, however, his committee position and parliamentary ability made him an invaluable agent of legislative action.

CHAPTER V—NOTES

[1] Certain phases of the railroad problem, especially the question of subsidies and land grants in aid of construction, will be discussed in later chapters.

[2] May 28, 1878, they voted against consideration of the bill. *House journal*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 1170-71.

[3] *House journal*, 45th cong., 3d sess., 70-71. It was not acted on in the senate.

[4] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 23, 1878.

[5] *House journal*, 48th cong., 2d sess., 103-4, 203-6.

[6] Dec. 18, 1884. *Record*, 48th cong., 2d sess., 375-76.

[7] Dec. 9, 1884. *Record*, 48th cong., 2d sess., 116-19.

[8] July 30, 1886. *House journal*, 49th cong., 1st sess., 2411. This was the vote on substituting the Reagan bill for the Cullom bill. Both democrats voted for the amended bill, the republicans dodging the vote. *Ibid.*, 2423-24.

[9] *Record*, 49th cong., 1st sess., appendix, 458-66.

[10] Jan. 14, 1887. *Record*, 49th cong., 2d sess., 881.

[11] *Record*, 49th cong., 2d sess., 807-12.

[12] The bill passed the house but failed in the senate. L. E. McGann (Dem.), who did not vote, was paired against the measure. *House journal*, 53d cong., 3d sess., 29; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1894.

[13] *Record*, 53d cong., 3d sess., 225.

[14] *House report*, 55th cong., 2d sess., No. 232; *Record*, 55th cong., 3d sess., appendix, 27-33; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 25, 1898. The bill passed the house but not the senate. The delegation split badly on the vote, with several members indicating the delicate nature of the legislation by dodging the ballot. *Record*, 55th cong., 3d sess., 50-51.

[15] Mann's action in leaving his party to fight the bill evoked much favorable comment. The *Chicago Times Herald* said that he "led the fight against the bill in a manner that will advance him to the front rank as a floor manager in debate." Dec. 8, 1898.

[16] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 25, 1904. He said that reporting such a bill would in his opinion "constitute a very serious error." He represented, he said, one of the largest shipping districts in the country, and was "in a position to say there is no such demand for this legislation as the president seems to think."

[17] *Chicago Record Herald*, Jan. 15, 1905.

[18] *Chicago Evening Post*, Jan. 21, 1905; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 10; *house journal*, 58th cong., 3d sess., 284-85; *Record, ibid.*, 2031-41.

[19] Introduced Feb. 24, 1905. *House journal*, 58th cong., 3d sess., 376; *Record, ibid.*, appendix, 170-71; *Chicago Daily News*, Feb. 24; *Chicago Chronicle*, Feb. 25.

[20] Passed the house Feb. 8, 1906. *Record*, 59th cong., 1st sess., 2303.

[21] Feb. 6, 1906. *Record*, 59th cong., 1st sess., 2176-77.

[22] *Record*, 59th cong., 1st sess., 2242-47.

[23] *Chicago Chronicle*, Dec. 7, 1905.

[24] Cullom, *op. cit.*, 328.

[25] *Chicago Inter Ocean*, Aug. 7, 1909; *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 8.

[26] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 4, 1910; *Chicago Inter Ocean*, Jan. 5. The *New York World* asserted that the railroads opposed the court. Jan. 5. They were, in fact, opposed to any legislation, and considerable pressure was brought to bear on Mann to use his influence against action.

[27] *Chicago Daily News*, Feb. 25, 1910; *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 1.

[28] *Chicago Inter Ocean*, Mar. 23, 1910.

[29] On motion of Madden the last section was eliminated from the bill. *Chicago Inter Ocean*, May 4, 1910; *Record*, 61st cong., 2d sess., 5746-48.

[30] *House journal*, 61st cong., 2d sess., 666-67.

[31] He had first proposed his remedy in a set speech, Feb. 13, 1909: "there was just one thing that Congress could have done to afford the relief on this subject to which the people were entitled, and that was to provide

and prescribe the necessary procedure for the appraisement and valuation of all the railroad property in the country, and then empower the commission not merely to determine, upon the filing of a complaint, but also whether any complaint was made or not, the just and reasonable rates for the entire traffic on all the roads. Taking the comprehensive valuation thus made, the commission should have been authorized to make a schedule of rates for the country's transportation business in its entirety. . . ." *Record*, 60th cong., 2d sess., 2311-18. This is indicative of increasing hostility to the roads and a growing appreciation of the rights of the shipper.

[32] *Record*, 61st cong., 2d sess., 5570-77; *Chicago Examiner*, Apr. 30, 1910.

[33] *Record*, 61st cong., 2d sess., appendix, 380-82.

[34] This was defeated. *House journal*, 61st cong., 2d sess., 664-65.

[35] *Record*, 62d cong., 3d sess., 55-65.

[36] *Record*, 62d cong., 3d sess., 177, 3806.

[37] The delegation voted by party (four members not voting) on the Adamson law defining eight hours as a day's work on interstate roads. *Record*, 64th cong., 1st sess., 13608. The debate was largely political.

[38] Passed the senate Feb. 22 without division. *Record*, 65th cong., 2d sess., 2519. Passed the house Feb. 28, supported by all the Chicagoans save Mann and W. E. Mason (Rep.), who were not recorded. *Ibid.*, 2835-36. Became law after conference.

[39] Madden and George E. Foss (Rep.). *Record*, 65th cong., 2d sess., 2641; *ibid.*, appendix, 173.

[40] *Record*, 65th cong., 2d sess., appendix, 173.

[41] *Record*, 65th cong., 2d sess., 2416-23.

[42] Jan. 14, 1919. *Record*, 65th cong., 3d sess., 1428-30.

[43] *Record*, 66th cong., 1st sess., 8691-92. Fred A. Britten (Rep.). Niels Juul (Rep.) and Mason not voting.

[44] *Record*, 66th cong., 2d sess., 821, 896; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 19, 1919.

[45] *Record*, 66th cong., 2d sess., appendix, 8832-33.

[46] *Record*, 66th cong., 2d sess., appendix, 8855-56.

[47] *Record*, 66th cong., 2d sess., 3316.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRUSTS AND BUSINESS REGULATION

Various phases of governmental relation to business occupied the particular attention of the Chicago group. Notice of some of these problems should be preceded by indicating the development of sentiment relative to "big business." The growth of combinations in the eighties bred a popular fear which finally translated itself into the Sherman anti-trust act of 1890. The Chicago members shared the indifference of their downstate colleagues and of the country at large. No opinion was expressed on the merits of the bill and no vote was cast against it, Senator Farwell and three of the four representatives being absent on the important divisions.[1] A decade of evasions, unsuccessful prosecutions and rising public sentiment brought the trust question into congress in 1900 and the delegation split by party on a proposal to tighten the anti-trust law, the republicans favoring and the democrats opposing the scheme on state rights grounds.[2]

Roosevelt's active interest crystallized public sentiment and forced the enactment of three laws bearing on the trust problem in 1903. The expedition act speeded the operation of existing machinery, the Elkins anti-rebate act struck at collusion between trusts and railroads, and the bureau of corporations sought improvement through information and publicity. The first passed without record votes or expression of opinion.[3] Mann reported the second favorably and urged its passage, giving as the opinion of the committee that "the legislation proposed by the Elkins bill, together with the present interstate commerce law, covers about all the ways that thought or language can devise or describe to prevent the granting of discriminations in favor of one shipper as against another, or the building up of one concern through the favoritism of railroad corporations."[4] The delegation supported the bill.[5] Mann likewise reported and had charge of the bill creating the department of commerce and labor, including the bureau of corporations, which also received Chicago votes.[6] He drafted the section creating the bureau which, somewhat modified in conference, became law. Thus Chicago, in the person of one of her representatives, led in the first important amplification of the interstate commerce act and the Sherman act in the direction of further restraints on big business.[7]

The publicity campaign thus inaugurated did not remedy existing evils and the supreme court added to the uncertainty by reading the Sherman act in the light of the "rule of reason." The Wilson administration reaped the benefits of long agitation and education and passed the federal trade commission act and the Clayton act of 1914. The first replaced the bureau of corporations, and its increased affirmative powers of advice and investigation placed it in a position analogous to that of the interstate commerce commission regarding the carriers. The second defined and prohibited abuses which the trade commission was to correct. The democratic uprising had put the republicans in the minority and they voted solidly against the bill,[8] though Mann's remarks yielded grudging acquiescence in the action taken.[9] Senator Lewis, who played

some part in drafting the measure,[10] justifying democracy in espousing centralization, was forced to[11]

> announce our new adaptation of the Federal centralism—it is that because the National Government has so long allowed corporate power the privilege of oppressing the citizen of the State the citizen of the State must now avail himself of the power of the Government to defend himself against the oppression of corporate privilege.

The action on the Clayton act was identical.[12] Mann as minority leader attacked the measure in detail and tried to prevent the adoption of the conference report.[13] Madden and Charles M. Thomson (Prog.) denounced the act, particularly the Webb amendment exempting labor organizations from its operation. The former argued that "the bill is an absolute failure, not only to accomplish what labor expected to be and claimed should be done, but accomplishes nothing whatever for labor's benefit."[14] Thomson made the constructive suggestion that it would be better to remove from the restrictions of the law not certain organizations, but the doing of certain acts.[15] Buchanan spoke semi-officially for the labor interests and voiced their satisfaction at the way matters had turned out.[16]

The last act in trust regulation was the Webb act of 1918 which exempted foreign commerce from the restraints placed on domestic traffic. Mann supported the bill when first introduced, arguing ably in favor of permitting combinations of weaker firms which were unable to maintain expensive foreign agencies.[17] Frank Buchanan (Dem.) opposed it as a fraud on the American public and especially on American labor, of which he purported to be a spokesman.[18] It passed the house with half the Chicago members dodging the vote and the rest badly split.[19] On its final passage in 1917 the delegation cast no negative votes but a number avoided the ballot.[20]

The pattern of the delegation on trust regulation is a rather irregular one, ranging from indifference through constructive contribution to partisan opposition. Activity reached its highest point in Mann's distinct contribution to the advance registered in the legislation of 1903. The next period of action found the more expert members in the minority and driven into factious opposition. It must be remembered in considering the rather meager part played in trust regulation that much of the anti-trust battle has been fought on other than legislative fields, which have been little more than places of registration for decisions reached elsewhere.

The following pages present a study of some concrete problems arising from federal relations with widely variant types of business activity. They are offered as illustrative rather than exhaustive expositions of the delegation's attitude. The principle of choice is both arbitrary and indicative; there has been no effort to cover the whole field of business regulation; on the other hand, only those subjects have been selected which have awakened a general interest in the delegation.

The question of ship subsidies shows opinion on a question involving direct aid of a particular interest. *A priori* it would seem natural for a group representing an inland locality to oppose such legislation because of the remote possible benefits and immediate tax burdens. A

long line of votes and speeches, however, indicates increasing deviation from such policy as party cohesiveness grows stronger. As noted previously, the republican tendency to vote with party against economic interest is greater than that of the typically minority democrats. Douglas was the only early member to oppose mail subsidies, Logan, Wentworth and Trumbull voting for them.[21] Several votes in the eighties indicate a growing division of sentiment tending toward hostility.[22] After several years of quiescence the subsidy movers gained Mason's support in 1902.[23] Chicago was first prominent in anti-subsidy activity in 1907 when W. W. Wilson (Rep.) led in paring down an administration mail-subsidy bill, but could not carry all of his republican colleagues into the opposition with him, several at one time or another voting with the subsidizers.[24] His extended argument touched on the exorbitance and probable ineffectiveness of the proposed subvention.[25] In 1908 and 1910 subsidy propositions split the republican side of the delegation and in 1911 Lorimer left a sickbed to support a senate proposal while his right to a seat in that body was under fire.[26]

The subsidy argument was extensively used by those who objected to exempting American coastwise shipping from Panama canal tolls. Here if anywhere it would be expected that an interior delegation would unite against a measure so patently advantageous to the seaboard. Yet here is found the greatest scrambling of party ties. The republican split already noticed was continued on the passage of the exemption bill, while no democrat supported it.[27] When Wilson demanded that the tolls be restored, both parties split, several democrats voting for exemption as a result of an intra-party schism. Members of both parties argued that exemption from tolls was a veiled subsidy.[28]

The war period created subsidies on a grand scale. The ship purchase bill developed unrivalled party bitterness and the delegation followed this division almost uniformly. Speeches were largely political and added little to opinions already expressed on the subject.[29] When the Harding administration tried to undertake the care of the immense amount of shipping constructed during the war, party lines were again drawn, this time with the republicans supporting the bill, even Madden deserting his long-maintained opposition.[30] M. Alfred Michaelson (Rep.) was the only member of his party to oppose the proposition as a bonus to the shipping trust, while his colleague, C. R. Chindblom (Rep.) was a member of the committee in charge of the measure and supported it in an elaborate argument.[31] It thus seems clear that party ties outweighed local interests. Members of both parties voted on both sides of the question from time to time as party control and momentary exigencies demanded. On the whole the republicans voted more frequently with their party and against their section than did the democrats, but this is doubtless partly because democratic principle coincided with opposition to subsidy and because the democrats were usually in the minority and hence more apt to unite against a majority proposal.

The last thirty-five years have witnessed repeated efforts to curb speculation by regulating or suppressing sales of grain for future delivery. On this issue, vitally concerning Chicago business interests, the

delegation has generally united to oppose restrictive measures. At one time or another Adams, William Aldrich, Mann and J. W. Rainey (Dem.) represented both parties in thwarting efforts to curb Chicago board of trade operations. When agrarian discontent forced the house in 1892 to pass the Hatch bill defining futures and taxing dealers therein the Chicago members were the only Illinoisans voting nay.[32] A similar alignment was preserved when the house refused to concur in amendments added by the senate.[33] Taylor opposed the measure as a device of the millers to hoodwink the farmers and drive down the price of grain for their own benefit.[34]

J. Frank Aldrich (Rep.), a former member of the board of trade, actively opposed the Hatch bill of 1894 purporting to regulate dealing in futures by a prohibitive tax. He asserted that the alleged advantages accruing to the farmer by striking at the grain exchanges were mythical, since manipulations of the market were beneficial to the primary producer. Every restriction in the bill, he argued,

> is a tax upon the farmer. If you tax the dealer, it comes directly from the pocket of the farmer. If you prevent a marketing of his product for future delivery, you add to the margin the local buyer must take from him, and at the same time you disturb and demoralize conditions that now prevail the world over and which are but the outgrowth of our enormous development.

He quoted Chicago board of trade representations to the effect that "the Hatch bill if passed would result in greater injury to the producer and to the consumer, as well as to business interests generally, than anything which has threatened the industries of the country." He tried later to strike the futures section from the bill, which passed against the non-partisan opposition of Chicago votes.[35] Julius Goldzier (Dem.), asserting that he did not represent the board of trade, assailed the bill as unconstitutional class legislation.[36] In 1912 Mann prevented passage of a grain futures bill by raising a point of order at a critical moment.[37]

The fight against regulation was continued in the struggle over the Capper-Tincher bill of 1921-22. This time Rainey and Chindblom led the bipartisan opposition, the former rendering a hostile minority report from the committee in charge.[38] It was passed twice, at first attempting to regulate future dealings by the taxing power, and when this was declared unconstitutional, by less direct means. The delegation opposed both bills.[39] The two speakers opposed the first on grounds of paternalism.[40] When the second came up, Rainey, admitting the evils connected with dealing in futures, asserted that the exchanges themselves were taking remedial steps, and attacked the proposed legislation on grounds of ineffectiveness and unconstitutionality.[41] Chindblom reiterated the latter argument and tried hard to secure amendments favorable to Chicago.[42] The consistency of the delegation on this issue contrasts very favorably with its record on subsidies. The secret is doubtless found in the immediacy of the interests involved and their powerful bearing on the city's commercial prosperity.

Another problem to receive much attention because of its local importance was the regulation of oleomargarine sales. Again the delegation supported its local interest more consistently than in the case

of subsidies. In 1886 a law taxed oleo and levied considerable amounts on manufacturers and dealers. This produced the first and only pronounced split in the delegation. The members divided, one on each side of the final vote.[43] Adams supported the bill as a means of obtaining necessary regulation impossible under state laws.[44] Dunham opposed it on the double ground that it hurt the industry of his district and would raise the price of butter if released from the competition of oleo.[45] Lawler protested against the bill as a blow to the laboring classes.[46] A kindred question was raised in the compound lard bill of 1890. Here a choice was offered between simple regulation of the manufacture of products compounded with cotton-seed oil and regulation by heavy taxation. The Chicago members, led by Mason, supported the former proposal in the interests of the large manufacture of compound carried on in the city. Mason's argument was largely based on the pure food idea, his plea being that a compound product, carefully made and properly labeled, was preferable to an animal product made under insanitary conditions. He was defeated after a spirited parliamentary battle descending at times almost to personal encounters. The votes of two of his three colleagues supported his position.[47]

In 1897 E. D. Cooke (Rep.) fought stoutly a hostile move against oleo, but his efforts were unsuccessful.[48] A similar measure in 1900 proposed to raise the tax to ten cents per pound on artificially colored oleo and to make it subject to the police powers of the state on entry, thus nullifying the original package decision. Lorimer led the unsuccessful fight to aid the oleo interests by retaining substantially the existing law. As a member of the committee on agriculture he signed a minority report against the Grout bill and spoke in favor of the *status quo*. His arguments and those of Foster and H. S. Boutell (Rep.) were directed toward the purity and healthfulness of the product, the bigotry of those who opposed it, the unfairness of using the taxing power to destroy an industry, and the danger of excessive centralization in the proposed measure.[49] The votes showed the delegation a non-partisan unit in favor of oleo with the exception of Foss, who voted consistently against it. The explanation of this action is probably the fact that his district was composed largely of the rural area north and west of Chicago.[50] The bill passed the house and failed in the senate. The anti-oleo element finally passed a tax bill over the united opposition (save Foss) of the delegation, which voted for a substitute removing the tax entirely.[51] Foster again championed the oleo manufacturers of his district, and was aided by Mann, Boutell and J. G. Feely (Dem.). Constitutional arguments as to the extent of the taxing power were largely used and an expressed horror of federal centralization again sat strangely on republican lips.[52] These incidents indicate a considerable consistency in favor of a local interest. After the first bill was passed the members generally tried to safeguard the interests of their locality, even when, as in the case of Foss' action on the later votes, this entailed a separation from the delegation proper.

Judging the delegation's record along trust and business lines by standards of activity and consistency it appears that it was not vitally

interested in general trust legislation but took considerable part in that concerning concrete business issues. Again, consistency was greater in the case of business interests directly affecting the locality than in general problems of policy governing the entire country. Furthermore, the closer the business regulated touched the interests and pocketbooks of the delegation's constituents, the more active and consistent was the group in its defense. Ship subsidies, in general of little value or a burden to an inland area, but in any case somewhat remote in their effects, had both supporters and opponents, but grain futures and oleo were almost uniformly protected by the group.

CHAPTER VI—NOTES

[1] Mason took occasion to inform the country that he had introduced the first resolution for investigation of the trusts. *Record*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 4100. For the votes see *senate journal*, *ibid.*, 219, *house journal*, *ibid.*, 766.

[2] *Record*, 56th cong., 1st sess., 6426. Thomas Cusack (Dem.) not voting, Mann "present." The vote was largely political. *Chicago Tribune*, June 2, 1900.

[3] *Record*, 57th cong., 2d sess., 1679, 1747.

[4] *House reports*, 57th cong., 2d sess., Nos. 3765 and 2970.

[5] Foss, Foster and W. F. Mahoney (Dem.) not voting. *Record*, 57th cong., 2d sess., 2159.

[6] Foss not voting. *Record*, 57th cong., 2d sess., 929-30. Mann's speech is found in *ibid.*, 858-64.

[7] Mann's speech of March 30, 1906, explained his part in the passage of the two acts. *Record*, 59th cong., 1st sess., 4494-97.

[8] *Record*, 63d cong., 2d sess., 9911.

[9] *Record*, 63d cong., 2d sess., 14939.

[10] *Record*, 63d cong., 2d sess., 12924.

[11] *Record*, 63d cong., 2d sess., 11304.

[12] Madden, Mann and Britten were alone in their opposition when the bill passed the house. Lewis voted for it in the senate. *Record*, 63d cong., 2d sess., 9911, 14610.

[13] *Record*, 63d cong., 2d sess., 8836-37, 9583, 16269-73; *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 8, 1914.

[14] *Record*, 63d cong., 2d sess., 9081-85; appendix, 939-44.

[15] *Record*, 63d cong., 2d sess., 9671.

[16] *Record*, 63d cong., 2d sess., 9672, 16336-40.

[17] *Record*, 64th cong., 1st sess., 13537, 13726.

[18] *Record*, 64th cong., 1st sess., 13681-85.

[19] *Record*, 64th cong., 1st sess., 13732.

[20] *Record*, 65th cong., 1st sess., 3584.

[21] Douglas cast votes on both sides of the question. *Senate journal*, 32d cong., 1st sess., 421-22; *ibid.*, 33d cong., 2d sess., 345. Wentworth's votes were cast for subsidies. *House journal*, *ibid.*, 395-96, 546-47. Trumbull showed a leaning in this direction, though the issue was not clear-cut. *Senate journal*, 41st cong., 3d sess., 213. Logan voted for several subsidy proposals. *Senate journal*, 42d cong., 2d sess., 663; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 15, 1873; *senate journal*, 46th cong., 1st sess., 255; *ibid.*, 49th cong., 1st sess., 682-83.

[22] *House journal*, 47th cong., 2d sess., 230-31; 48th cong., 1st sess., 1145-46; 49th cong., 1st sess., 1663-64; 51st cong., 2d sess., 316-20.

[23] *Record*, 57th cong., 1st sess., 2907.

[24] The majority of the delegation was generally with him, but party allegiance was beginning to breed friends for the idea. *House journal*, 59th cong., 2d sess., 40, 525-26, 572-73; *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 2, 1907.

[25] *Record*, 59th cong., 2d sess., 4160-66.

[26] *House journal*, 60th cong., 1st sess., 960-61; *Record*, 60th cong., 2d sess., 3694-95; *ibid.*, 61st cong., 3d sess., 1825; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 3, 1911.

[27] *Record*, 62d cong., 2d sess., 7019. E. J. Stack (Dem.) not voting.

[28] Vote on repeal of exemption, *Record*, 63d cong., 2d sess., 6087-89. For speeches see *ibid.*, 5653, 5742, 5977, appendix, 230-31, 334-35. *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 28, 1914.

[29] *Record*, 63d cong., 3d sess., 3918, 3922-23, 5201ff., 3892ff.; *ibid.*, 64th cong., 1st sess., 8074, 8256-57, 8374-75.

[30] *Record*, 67th cong., 3d sess., 194-95, 429.

[31] *Record*, 67th cong., 3d sess., 196.

[32] *House journal*, 52d cong., 1st sess., 214. The senate postponed consideration of the bill until the following session. *Senate journal*, *ibid.*, 413; *Chicago Tribune*, July 13, 1892.

[33] *House journal*, 52d cong., 2d sess., 122-23.

[34] *Record*, 52d cong., 2d sess., 2354-55.

[35] *Record*, 53d cong., 2d sess., 6538-43, 6723-37; *house journal*, *ibid.*, 445-46; *Chicago Tribune*, June 23, 1894.

[36] *Record*, 53d cong., 2d sess., 6581-85.

[37] *Record*, 62d cong., 2d sess., 9139-47ff.; *Chicago Tribune*, July 17, 1912.

[38] *House report* No. 1095, 67th cong., 2d sess.

[39] *Record*, 67th cong., 1st sess., 1429. J. J. Gorman (Rep.) and Mann not voting. *Ibid.*, 67th cong., 2d sess., 9508. Britten, Stanley Kunz (Dem.) and Sabath not voting. The two last were paired against the bill.

[40] *Record*, 67th cong., 1st sess., 1341, 1381, 1390.

[41] *Record*, 67th cong., 2d sess., 9406-11.

[42] *Record*, 67th cong., 2d sess., 9430, 9436-37, 12721-22.

[43] *House journal*, 49th cong., 1st sess., 1783-84, 1789-90.

[44] *Record*, 49th cong., 1st sess., 5040-41.

[45] *Record*, 49th cong., 1st sess., 4913-5, 5176.

[46] *Record*, 49th cong., 1st sess., 4971, 5167-68.

[47] Taylor not voting. *Record*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 8896, 8955; 9106; *house journal*, *ibid.*, 999; *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 24, 28, 29, 1890.

[48] This was on a motion to except oleo from the Leisy v. Hardin original package decision which held that goods manufactured in one state and shipped into another in the original package were to be protected to the extent of one sale. Under the decision the oleo makers could have shipped their product. *House journal*, 54th cong., 2d sess., 80-81.

[49] *Record*, 56th cong., 2d sess., 145-49, 166-67; appendix, 30-31.

[50] *Record*, 56th cong., 2d sess., 185-86.

[51] *Record*, 57th cong., 1st sess., 1659-60, 3614.

[52] *Record*, 57th cong., 1st sess., 1258-62, 1526-28, 1600-01, 4592-93; appendix, 55-70; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 7, 1902.

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT AID TO TRANSPORTATION

Chicago's situation on Lake Michigan, within reaching distance of the Father of Waters and at a strategic waypoint in the paths of overland commerce bred in her delegates recurring interest in inland transportation. River and harbor improvements, the Illinois Central Railroad, transcontinental roads and various canal and river-deepening projects one after another claimed their support. The intrinsic object underlying such projects, government aid to transportation is one now derided as the aim of selfish local interest seeking "pork" and now glorified as a disinterested move toward national progress, according to the individual or the circumstances. The following pages examine some phases of this many-sided problem in an effort to discover its reactions on the Chicago group.

The movement for river and harbor improvement at federal expense, agitated strongly down to the civil war, found ready support until 1850. Douglas and Wentworth reconciled democratic principles with liberal appropriations for a local work, though the former carefully indicated his opposition to a general internal improvement system. They divided their interests, Wentworth caring mainly for the lakes and Douglas for the rivers.[1] After the Polk veto in 1846, Wentworth tried hard to pass special bills and override the ensuing vetoes. His resolution of 1847-1848 passed the house, contradicting the right of veto and declaring the constitutional power of congress in the premises.[2] Douglas remained true to his stand,[3] but in 1851 he dodged several votes and threatened to vote against the bill of that year.[4]

The democratic platform of 1852 opposed a general system of internal improvements and thus forced Douglas to define his position. He first distinguished between the artificial and the natural, between internal improvements and navigation, asserting that the platform declaration was aimed at roads and canals, and did not commit the good democrat either way on rivers and harbors, which belonged with navigation. He foreshadowed his new position by asserting that "the general internal improvement system was left wisely in the State Governments, and not in the General Government. Our roads and canals, and all our artificial modes of communication, were left, very wisely, with the State governments."[5] Three days later he proposed that congress permit the states to levy tonnage duties for improvement of harbors and intrastate rivers, and to make compacts for joint collection of tolls on interstate streams. This he claimed would put the management of local waters in the hands of those best acquainted with their needs and most interested, and would replace the existing inequality of treatment and favoritism toward the east by a uniform system. He did not add, as he might have done, that it also offered a loophole for a democrat seeking national honors to dodge a troublesome question. Thus by two steps he sought to remove all national responsibility for transportation by shifting first "internal improvements" as he defined them, and then navigation, to the shoulders of the states. The proposal was defeated.[6]

There was no development of opinion after this time. Wentworth continued to urge river and harbor measures[7] and Douglas, adhering to his state-control proposal, first voted against a river and harbor bill in 1854, a vote which Wentworth asserted was decisive of Pierce's action in vetoing the bill.[8] Other bills came up, but no new ideas were expressed.[9] Douglas passed off the stage with a declaration for state support on his lips.[10]

Both Douglas and Wentworth did yeoman service in securing the pioneer land-grant to a state for railroad construction. This was a gift to Illinois of a right-of-way and land equal to alternate sections six sections in width on either side, extending from the southern terminus of the Illinois and Michigan canal at LaSalle to a point at or near the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers (Cairo) with a branch to Chicago. Douglas had moved his lares and penates to Chicago in 1847.[11] He saw in a scheme which senator Sidney Breese (Dem.) had long been urging unsuccessfully a chance to help his state, then in the doldrums following too-ambitious internal improvement legislation, and to appreciate the value of his Chicago real-estate holdings. He saw the weakness of the Breese proposal, which would grant to the Cairo City and Canal Company preëmption rights on certain lands, leaving responsibility for construction with that organization, dependent on selling the lands at a profit. His own measure granted the land directly to the state and changed the route from Cairo to Galena so as to include Chicago. This cleverly added northern support to the southern aid already enlisted by the avowed intention to continue the road south from Cairo. The bill passed the senate in 1848[12] but was tabled in the house after a long debate.[13] The next year he allowed the Breese bill to pass the senate and it also failed in the house.[14] In 1850 the Douglas bill came down again, and, thanks to Wentworth's hard work, the united support of the delegation and some judicious trading of votes with New England on the tariff, the grant was secured.[15] Years later Breese and Douglas waged a lengthy newspaper war over their relative importance in securing the grant. From this distance it seems that there is honor enough for both. Breese popularized the idea of a land-grant. Douglas saw its weakness, corrected it, and was influential enough to pass the bill. Wentworth deserves more credit for the measure than he has commonly received, for it was in the house that clever manipulation decided a doubtful issue.

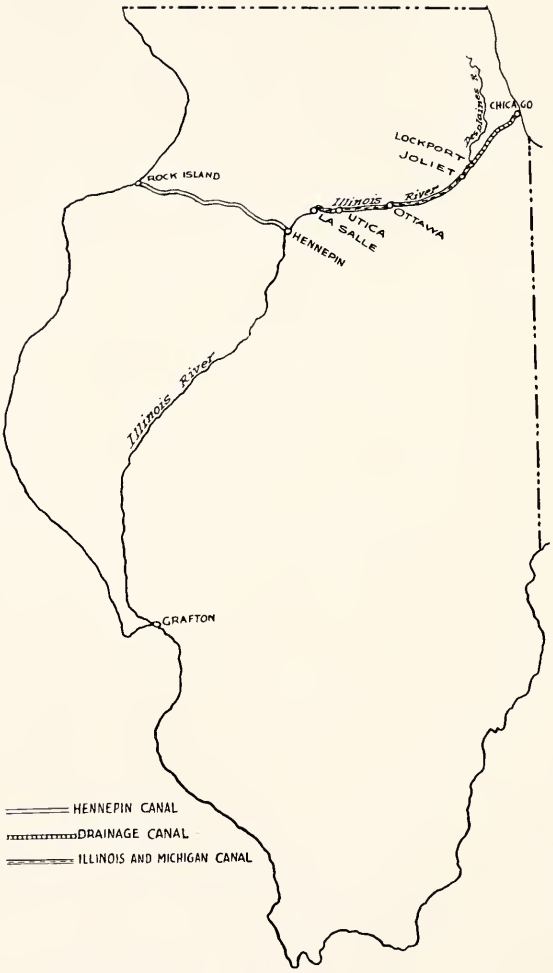
Chicago's growing importance in transcontinental transportation added to the immediate real-estate interests of some of her representatives[16] combined to interest them in a Pacific railroad. All the members save Douglas urged a central route as most advantageous to the city. He at first, with broader aims in view, favored a multiple route, and drew up such a bill, but later saw that concentration was essential to success and narrowed his demands more and more toward the central way.[17] Constitutional scruples as to governmental power to grant lands for the enterprise troubled none of the members appreciably. Douglas strongly opposed government ownership or operation and used mail subsidy arguments to justify the expenditure of government funds to aid

construction.[18] Wentworth was strongly favorable to a road[19] and Arnold was a member of the committee which drafted the bill finally authorizing construction. Trumbull was enthusiastic for a central road, but was somewhat troubled by constitutional qualms over details.[20]

Professor Hodder has so painstakingly detailed the probable connection between Douglas, the Pacific railroad and the Kansas-Nebraska act that it would be presumption to do more than summarize his conclusions.[21] These are briefly that Douglas proposed to organize new territories in order to provide a safe and desirable central railroad route favorable to Chicago and that the ensuing slavery and constitutional complications were unsought and unexpected by him. The storm aroused by his territorial bill in 1854 eclipsed railroad legislation in that year,[22] but in 1855 he proposed a bill providing for three lines. This passed the senate but was not acted on in the house.[23] There Wentworth made a valiant but unsuccessful effort to make possible a northern route.[24] Though continually active, Douglas was unable to secure the object dear to his heart and died with his dream still a dream. The final bill passed with surprisingly little Chicago debate, Arnold's main contribution being along the line of perfecting amendments of interest to his section.[25] On the whole the attitude of the delegation was about what might be expected: consistent desire for an important local improvement overriding any possible scruples which might arise, and local interest being the governing factor in choice between alternative projects.

Fortunately or unfortunately Nature placed a very low divide between Lake Michigan and the Illinois river basin. This prompted the conception of a canal connecting the lake with the river and the Mississippi. A six foot channel was completed and opened to traffic between Chicago and LaSalle in 1848.[26] Since that time succeeding generations of politicians, business men, sanitarians and idealists have racked their brains and exhausted expedients to commit an unwilling government to a policy of improving that waterway or permitting the state to do so. National defense and unity, commercial advantage, moderation of freight rates, stimulation of shipping and disposal of a great city's sewage have been successively urged in favor of the project. The problem is largely a local one, but its many national and international aspects have brought it frequently before congress. This study makes no attempt to treat the local phases of the situation, rendered acute by the conflict between a state and its overshadowing metropolis, save as necessary to clarify the background of congressional discussion. Neither are international questions touched more than incidentally, the main effort here being to mirror the reactions of local desires and policy on national legislation. Such an effort is confessedly and necessarily incomplete, but probably essential to an understanding of the problem.

The civil war offered an auspicious occasion for moving toward channel-deepening. Arnold of Chicago, aided by a powerful lobby, spent four unsuccessful years in this cause. The first plea was military necessity, together with commercial advantage, the argument being that the northern frontier should be rendered less pregnable by deepening the Illinois river and the canal to permit gunboats to enter the lakes.[27] The


CHICAGO
LOCKPORT
JOLIET
ROCK ISLAND
Illinois River
OTTAWA
UTICA
LA SALLE
HENNEPIN
Illinois River
GRAFTON
HENNEPIN CANAL
DRAINAGE CANAL
ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL

importance of such a channel in binding the union together was used somewhat later. King corn had replaced king cotton in the economic domain and a waterway was urged as a useful means of keeping the new monarch safely enthroned.[28] As the war waned and the export trade of the middle west waxed the commercial factors underlying the demands became more apparent.[29] Two principal types of legislation were discussed. The first involved conveying the old canal to the United States, which would deepen the channel as rapidly as tolls from traffic paid the interest on investment. The total expenditure was not to exceed ten millions. The second was the Arnold proposal of a government appropriation of five millions to be expended by the officials of the existing canal. This had the merit of being more likely to succeed than the larger appropriation, and likewise left the completed work under state control.[30] Bills were defeated at successive sessions[31] but Arnold's measure finally passed the house in 1865, only to die in the senate, and the matter languished for years.[32]

For a time the question of a ship canal around Niagara Falls attracted the attention of the waterway advocates, and then reconstruction took the spotlight. The waterway, as the proposed deep-water channel from Chicago to the Mississippi will henceforth be called, next became important in connection with the Hennepin canal connecting the Illinois river near Hennepin with the Mississippi near Rock Island. A movement extending from 1882 to 1888, in the early part of which Chicago members played a prominent part, secured the authorization of this work.[33] The pet scheme of general Thomas J. Henderson (Rep.), it was urged as a means of moderating freight rates on shipments from the middle west and forced through congress in 1888. Constructed with the utmost deliberation, its usefulness has been negligible, partly due to failure to improve the channel between Hennepin and Chicago, and it has for years been a white elephant.[34] The connection between the Hennepin project and the waterway was due to the fact that Illinois had passed a law offering to cede the Illinois and Michigan canal to the United States on conditions which were closely tied up with Hennepin. This was an effort to get rid of the old canal, then declining as a revenue-producer, to secure the Hennepin canal with its large local expenditures, and to care for Chicago's growing drainage problem. Strenuous but unsuccessful efforts were made in 1886 to secure both Hennepin and government acceptance of the older canal.[35] The upshot of the negotiations, in which Chicago members played a decreasingly important part,[36] was that the Hennepin canal was authorized and construction begun;[37] the army engineers reported against accepting the Illinois and Michigan canal;[38] and a law of 1888 ordered surveys and estimates of the Illinois and DesPlaines rivers from LaSalle to Lockport and the location of a channel from Lockport to the lake near Chicago "so as to provide a navigable waterway not less than one hundred and sixty feet wide and not less than fourteen feet deep."[39]

Chicago's rapid growth gave the situation a new turn. Sewage disposal has always been a serious local problem. Dumping into the lake contaminated the water supply and some other method had to be

found. The first expedient was to pump the waste into the Illinois and Michigan canal, whence it found its way to the Illinois and the Mississippi. When this channel proved too small to carry the burden it was proposed to build a deep-water drainage canal to empty into the Des-Plaines river at Lockport. The plan was to reverse the course of the Chicago river and divert lake water to carry off the sewage. Connected with this came the idea of a deep waterway, built at government expense, continuing the drainage canal to the Mississippi and the Gulf. Without congressional encouragement the sanitary district of Chicago planned a ditch twenty-two feet deep, more than necessary for drainage purposes, gambling that the government would construct the deep waterway and thus make the investment pay out. The canal was begun in 1892[40] and opened January 17, 1900,[41] after which the congressional history of the waterway is one of successive efforts to secure governmental aid and, when that proved impossible, government permission for the use of state funds on the project. It is a story of continued retreat from position to position, always toward less ambitious and more practicable proposals; complicated first by local political quarrels over exploitation of waterpower rights and later by interstate and international difficulties arising from commercial rivalries and lake levels lowered by excessive diversion.

The first epoch, running through Lorimer's term of service, saw efforts to secure a fourteen foot channel from congress, combined with a local battle between that type and one less pretentious. Local divisions combined with repeated reports by government technical experts adverse to the deep channel made congress wary, and the plan was finally killed by Lorimer's premature departure from the senate. In 1899 the Hennepin canal was nearing completion and surveys and estimates of cost were ordered for improving the upper Illinois and lower DesPlaines rivers to a depth of seven and eight feet, "with a view to the extension of navigation from the Illinois River to Lake Michigan at or near Chicago."[42] The deep waterway advocates in 1900 added surveys and estimates for channels ten, twelve and fourteen feet deep over the same route, and also for extending the investigation to the mouth of the Illinois including the cost of a proper connection with the drainage canal at Lockport.[43] A Mason-Lorimer combination backed the project, which was passed on its merits in the senate and later went through both houses on the emergency river and harbor bill.[44] At the next session Mason actively pushed the deep channel before the rivers and harbors committee.[45] Meantime the army engineers submitted two reports. The first gave estimates for seven and eight foot channels as required by the act of 1899,[46] and the second decided against the advisability of a fourteen foot work and opposed further surveys of the Illinois looking toward a channel deeper than the existing projects for the Mississippi, which at no point called for more than ten feet.[47] As congress had already adopted a project calling for a depth of seven feet in the Illinois river below LaSalle and authorized surveys for an eight-foot channel from that point to the lake, the situation in 1901 was that the Lockport-LaSalle stretch was the only part of the water-

way not provided for. The deep waterway plan won another victory in 1902 in an appropriation for surveys and estimates for a fourteen-foot channel from Lockport to St. Louis.[48] The issue was thus joined: the engineers had reported costs for an eight-foot channel from LaSalle to the lake, and were on record opposing a deeper channel; and congress had adopted a seven-foot project for the lower Illinois and authorized surveys for a fourteen-foot channel from Lockport to St. Louis.

In 1906, pending the report on the fourteen-foot survey, Lorimer and Madden renewed the drive for the deep channel. The latter stressed the advantages of a water route as a regulator of freight rates. Lorimer's bill asked thirty-one millions for a fourteen-foot channel from Lockport to St. Louis. The engineers' report of 1907 frowned on the Lorimer scheme and favored an eight-foot work.[49] The two continued their activities however, and Madden offered a modified Lorimer bill as an amendment to the river and harbor bill. After a long debate in which both were prominent it was defeated.[50] By 1909 the local situation had developed into a movement for expending twenty millions of state money on the Lockport-Utica stretch. Lorimer opposed this project unless the federal government could be induced to spend an equal amount.[51] Another expert report condemned the fourteen-foot waterway and declared for one of eight or nine feet.[52] By 1910 the state had authorized the issue of bonds and the Deneen plan of a shallower channel from Lockport to Utica was being pushed. Lorimer held out for government aid,[53] but gave up his earlier hope that the government would assume entire responsibility for the work and tried to retain the fourteen-foot channel as against that proposed by the Deneen group, and to commit the government to coöperation with the state in this project. He secured a survey to determine the possible extent of this coöperation in improving the waterway between Lockport and Grafton and in developing waterpower in the Lockport-Utica stretch.[54] The following year the war department reported against any federal aid on the latter unit, holding that the Illinois bond issue should be sufficient to cover the improvement.[55] Once more Lorimer's plan was defeated and he followed it into oblivion in 1912. The net result of activity down to 1913 was thus a seven-foot project in the Illinois river below LaSalle, a final quashing of the Lorimer plan and a refusal of federal coöperation in the nine-foot development between Lockport and Utica. This large degree of failure was doubtless partly due to the inability of Illinois to agree on a policy, the eight-footers and the fourteen-footers keeping things in a turmoil for years. Another factor was the intrinsic weakness of the fourteen-foot channel which, if completed, would have been deeper than any Mississippi channel completed or projected. Finally, the rumblings of opposition to lake-water diversion were becoming ever more distinct.

In 1912 the sanitary district, which had been operating under a permit allowing withdrawal of 4,167 cubic feet of water per second through the drainage canal, petitioned for the use of 10,000 second feet.[56] The lake states and Canada protested and the acting secretary of war refused the permit, passing the buck to congress.[57] In 1915 the

Illinois legislature authorized expenditure of five of the twenty millions provided by the earlier bond issue on an eight-foot channel from Lockport to Utica. This was the result of a compromise in the state between the big and little waterway factions.[58] This project had to be endorsed by the war department, but secretary Lindley M. Garrison refused the necessary permit and in 1917 congress also expressed its disapproval.[59] The permit was finally granted after the war.[60] The next move was senator McCormick's resolution of 1923 asking investigation of the possibilities of a nine-foot channel from the lakes to the gulf.[61] This movement was continued in 1924.[62] This marks the end of affirmative action on the matter, pressure against diversion being effective in halting legislation. It will be seen that the tendency has been toward a less and less ambitious program. Those in charge of Chicago's interest hurt their chances by asking too much of government and reaching out after a waterway advanced beyond the stage of any connecting river system. By the time local factions had agreed on a more practicable channel the question of lake levels had become so prominent that the federal government not only refused aid but for some years denied the state the right to spend its own money on the completing link. The demand of local interest for a fourteen-foot channel for navigation proved a stumbling-block. Later this same interest demanded large water diversions for sanitary purposes and this in turn helped to prevent action on the waterway. Avoiding the moot question of the amount of diversion necessary for sanitation, the facts in the case show that a solution of the important waterway question has been delayed by the local demands of Chicago as carried to Washington by her delegates. This is explainable by the fact that from the first the city's interests have been more fundamentally connected with drainage than with navigation, it being only in very recent years that Chicago has become resigned, in the face of a supreme court decision, to the placing of a definite and decreasing limit on the amount of water which can be diverted.

The general observation to be made from the foregoing case studies is that the delegation has been actively and prominently concerned with government aid to transportation. As in other cases, this interest is the natural outcome of geography and economic interest. Situated in "the west" during the early history of the delegation, Chicago needed transportation eastward, and when the frontier betook itself toward the Pacific the city found itself centrally located and demanding passage for goods going in all directions. The question of motive behind the various moves introduces complications. The sectional factor, desire for development of the west, is evident, natural and commendable. Other motives, personal and municipal, are less admirable in the broad view. The faint aroma of pork which pervades the nostrils of the reader of the documents is not altogether a product of Chicago's packing plants. Continued and vociferous insistence on an unprecedentedly deep waterway hardly comports with the highest disinterestedness when one looks at the contemporary success of canals and rivers as transportation agents. When this situation is coupled with Chicago's sewage problem and the

by no means negligible profits to be derived from water power development, the outlined features of the Ethiopian in the woodpile become plainer. Striking an average between the commendable and the less commendable, it would seem that legitimate interest in transportation facilities has been made the vehicle for personal and local projects which to say the least do not bear the stamp of broadest national policy.

CHAPTER VII—NOTES

[1] *Globe*, 28th cong., 1st sess., 527-28; *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, May 29, 1844; *Globe*, 29th cong., 1st sess., 354, 497, John Wentworth, *Congressional Reminiscences*, 37, in *Fergus' Historical Series* (Chicago, 1876ff.), No. 24.

[2] *House journal*, 30th cong., 1st sess., 142, 882-84; *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Jan. 4, 11, 12, June 29, 1848.

[3] *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Feb. 5, Mar. 11, 1848.

[4] *Senate journal*, 31st cong., 2d sess., 242-52; *Globe*, *ibid.*, appendix, 344.

[5] *Globe*, 32d cong., 1st sess., appendix, 1014-15.

[6] *Globe*, 32d cong., 1st sess., appendix, 1127-31, 1146.

[7] *Globe*, 33d cong., 1st sess., 76, 138-40, 1674, 1690, 1712; *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, July 22, 1854.

[8] He set forth his ideas in letters to governor Joel A. Matteson and to his Springfield organ. *Springfield Daily Register*, Jan. 24, 1854; to Lanphier and Walker, Nov. 11, 1853. *Lanphier MSS.* He said: "I believe that a new system is demanded; that the old one is a failure; and, as a friend of the river and harbor interest, as a friend of internal improvements, as a man who, by his local interests, and his constituencies, and his affections, is identified with that interest as much as any man in this body, I dislike to see this sacrifice of life and property for want of proper improvements, in consequence of this Government attempting to manage that which it does not understand, and is not competent to act upon." *Globe*, 33d cong., 1st sess., appendix, 1185-95, 1210. Wentworth's statement is found in the *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, Oct. 7, 1854.

[9] James H. Woodworth (Rep.) and Farnsworth supported bills for rivers and harbors on several occasions. See *house journal*, 34th cong., 1st sess., 960, 1175-76; *Globe*, 34th cong., 3d sess., 957; *house journal*, *ibid.*, 597; *Globe*, 36th cong., 1st sess., 3196.

[10] *Globe*, 36th cong., 2d sess., 537-38.

[11] Cole, *op. cit.*, 36-37.

[12] *Globe*, 30th cong., 1st sess., 214; *senate journal*, *ibid.*, 314. The *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Feb. 3, 4, 22, 24, 1851, contains the Douglas-Breese correspondence which covers all the phases of the matter here discussed. Reference is to this series of letters unless otherwise noted.

[13] *House journal*, 30th cong., 1st sess., 1268, 1273.

[14] *Senate journal*, 30th cong., 2d sess., 170; *house journal*, *ibid.*, 670.

[15] Passed the senate May 30, 1850. *Globe*, 31st cong., 1st sess., 904. Passed the house, Sept. 17. *Ibid.*, 1838. Wentworth's correspondence to his paper during the debates indicates that there was some opposition from Illinois members, but the vote showed no opponents. *Chicago Daily Democrat*, June 8, Aug. 1, Sept. 24, 1850. He tells the tale of the maneuvers by which the bill was put through the house in *Congressional Reminiscences*, 39-42.

[16] Wentworth and Douglas were heavy investors.

[17] See his speech of Jan. 12, 1859 favoring a central route if but one road was to be constructed. *Globe*, 35th cong., 2d sess., 333, 358.

[18] *Globe*, 36th cong., 2d sess., 432.

[19] *Globe*, 33d cong., 1st sess., 38.

[20] *Globe*, 35th cong., 2d sess., 262; *ibid.*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 2679, 2756, 2833, 2835.

[21] Hodder, *The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act*, *loc. cit.*, 69ff.

[22] In 1852 and 1853 he had vainly pressed a bill which was amended to provide for the survey and location of a route. Hodder, *op. cit.*, 77. It was voted down Feb. 22, 1853. *Senate journal*, 32d cong., 2d sess., 226.

[23] Hodder, *op. cit.*, 83; *senate journal*, 33d cong., 2d sess., 289.

[24] He voted alone against the delegation on this matter. *Globe*, 33d cong., 2d sess., 355-56; *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, Feb. 3, 1855.

[25] *Chicago Tribune*, May 10, 1862.

[26] For an excellent account of the history and development of this work see James William Putnam, *The Illinois and Michigan Canal, A Study in Economic History* (Chicago, 1918). Vol. X of *Chicago Historical Society Collections.*

[27] *Globe*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 3024-28; *house report* No. 23, *ibid.*

[28] Arnold's speech of Jan. 22, 1863. *Globe*, 37th cong., 3d sess., 463-64.

[29] Arnold's speech of Feb. 1, 1865 illustrates this point, which is even better brought out by that of Joshua C. Allen (Dem.), a down-state member. *Globe*, 38th cong., 2d sess., 539-41, 541-43.

[30] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 7, 1864.

[31] The Blair bill, embodying the first proposal, was first tabled and later postponed in 1862. *House journal*, 37th cong., 2d sess., 961-62, 987. No Illinois members voted against it but three democrats were absent and the *Chicago Tribune* charged two of them with defeating the bill by wilful dodging. July 9, 1862. The bill again failed in 1863 with the same democrats absent on the final ballot. Two other democrats broke the caucus rule and voted with the republicans for it. *House journal*, 37th cong., 3d sess., 360; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 10, 1863.

[32] Feb. 2, 1865. *Globe*, 38th cong., 2d sess., 546-47; *house journal, ibid.*, 183.

[33] Aldrich, Dunham and Farwell aided the lobby in 1882. *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 5, 1882. Logan was active in supporting a project which finally resulted in a survey in the same year. *Record*, 47th cong., 1st sess., 5712-20, 6296. His argument stressed the freight-regulatory advantages of the canal. Davis and Dunham also worked for the plan a few years later. *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 24, 1883. In 1885 both supported the proposal of that year. *Record*, 48th cong., 2d sess., 1679-81; *ibid.*, appendix, 50-53.

[34] Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman (Rep.) in a filibuster speech in 1917 quoted figures to show that the canal had cost, to June 30, 1916, $7,657,803.46 and that the total value of the traffic for a recent year was but $96,828. *Record*, 65th cong., 1st sess., 5487-90.

[35] A further survey of the Hennepin route was authorized. *House journal*, 49th cong., 1st sess., 2604.

[36] Probably because of their growing interest in the waterway. Pushing both projects might be fatal to each because of the large expense involved. See *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 15, 1888.

[37] The river and harbor act of 1888 authorized a seven foot channel. That of 1890 made the first appropriation. *United States Statutes at Large* (Boston and Washington, 1860ff.), XXV, ch. 860; XXVI, ch. 907.

[38] *House ex. doc.* No. 79, 49th cong., 2d sess. This was a report made in pursuance of the act of 1886. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXIV, ch. 929.

[39] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXV, ch. 860.

[40] The plan proposed by the sponsors was indicated in a speech of Lyman Cooley at the opening of the work; "The policy underlying the law is an open river below Utica, to be improved progressively in conjunction with a water supply from Lake Michigan, works above Utica so designed as to permit a future increase of capacity and such a plan for the Chicago divide as will facilitate enlargement to any requirement of water supply from the Lakes to the Mississippi—the entire work to be carried out through the cooperation of city, State and Nation." *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 4, 1892.

[41] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 18, 1890.

[42] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXX, ch. 425. Act of Mar. 3, 1899; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 7, 1899.

[43] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXXI, ch. 790. Act of June 6, 1900.

[44] Mason's resolution passed the senate May 7, 1900. *Record*, 56th cong., 1st sess., 5215-16. His report, *senate report* No. 1091, discussed the question. Lorimer's similar resolution in the house was incorporated in the emergency bill. *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 11, May 17, 1900.

[45] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1900.

[46] *House document* No. 112, 56th cong., 2d sess. The first was estimated to cost $7,317,977 and the second $8,653,247.

[47] *House document* No. 220, 56th cong., 2d sess. The board concluded that "the existing project for the improvement of the Lower Illinois River, if extended to Lake Michigan by the 8-foot project along the Upper Illinois and Des Plaines rivers, on which the Board has submitted estimates, is ample for all the existing river navigation in the Mississippi Valley or any improvement thereof authorized by Congress . . . . That any extension of lake navigation inland along the DesPlaines and Illinois rivers will require a navigable waterway not less than 14 feet in depth . . . . That a waterway for lake vessels extending only to the mouth of the Illinois will not develop a commerce that will justify such an expenditure, and that this improvement by itself is not advisable." The existing projects for the Mississippi below the mouth of the Illinois called for an ultimate depth of six feet from that point to St. Louis, eight feet thence to the mouth of the Ohio, and ten feet thence to the Gulf. These figures indicate the optimism of the waterway advocates, who could lay plans for an Illinois waterway four feet deeper than the deepest project yet proposed for the Mississippi.

[48] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXXII, ch. 1079. Act of June 13, 1902. *House document* No. 263, 59th cong., 1st sess.

[49] *House document* No. 437, 59th cong., 2d sess. The engineer board of review stated that "the depth proposed is greater than is necessary for the river traffic that would probably use it, and not sufficiently great to extend lake navigation from the Great Lakes to St. Louis . . . ."

[50] *Record*, 59th cong., 2d sess., 2376-77, 2383. Lorimer had been ill and much of the work was done by Madden. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Feb. 6, 1907. The proposal was for an immediate appropriation of $3,000,000 and future expenditures under other appropriations of not more than $28,000,000 additional.

[51] *Chicago Tribune*, May 6, 14, 26, 1909.

[52] *House document* No. 50, 61st cong., 1st sess.

[53] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 20, 1909, Jan. 25, Feb. 9, 1910.

[54] *House report* No. 436, 61st cong., 2d sess.; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXXVI, Pt. I, ch. 382. Act of June 25, 1910.

[55] *House document* No. 1374, 61st cong., 3d sess.

[56] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 28, Mar. 24, 1912. It was common knowledge that the district was using more than the amount permitted.

[57] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 13, 1913.

[58] The local situation from the point of view of the latter group is well discussed by Senator Sherman in his filibuster speech of May, 1916. *Record*, 64th cong., 1st sess., appendix, 1421-48.

[59] Another filibuster speech details the situation quite carefully. *Record*, 65th cong., 1st sess., 5477-92.

[60] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 16, 1920.

[61] Jan. 25. *Record*, 67th cong., 4th sess., 2364-65.

[62] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 15, 1924.

CHAPTER VIII

LOCAL ISSUES

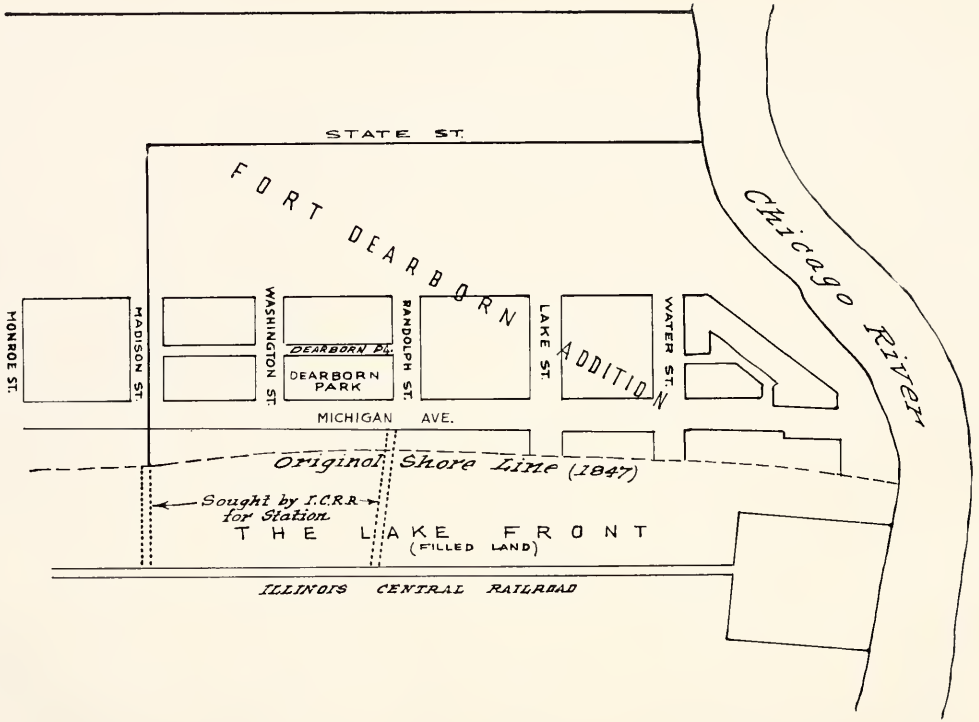
An exasperated editorial writer once asserted that[1]

> Never in congress or the state legislature has the Chicago delegation thought as a unit or voted as a unit. Politically Chicago has been Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, wet, dry, American, Irish, German, Polish, high tariff, low tariff, or free trade. There has been no line of cleavage which has not split the Chicago representations.
>
> There is no case on record where the Chicago delegation even united to get anything for Chicago or to prevent anything being taken from Chicago.

The preceding chapters have presented material bearing on the truth of such a statement regarding certain national problems. Putting these behind and reasoning *a priori* it might be expected that unity would increase with the immediacy of the interest involved and that distinctly local matters would command a high degree of activity and unanimity from the delegation. On such an assumption certain matters with local bearings have been examined. The principle of selection has been largely quantitative: only matters arousing considerable interest and debate have been chosen. It is hoped thus to describe briefly some matters vital to a metropolitan group and to reach an estimate of that group's reactions toward local problems.

During Wentworth's career and largely through his efforts several steps were taken to improve commercial conditions in the city. In 1846 Chicago was made a port of entry, allowing local importers to pay duties at home rather than at the seaboard.[2] This in turn brought revenue and aided the successful plea for appropriations for a marine hospital to care for Great Lakes sailors.[3] With the law extending maritime jurisdiction over the upper lakes, it brought business and litigation to Chicago and aided her delegates in their demand for sessions of the federal courts.[4] Wentworth also aided the importers by his bill setting up the system of bonded warehouses, by means of which goods could be brought into the country and held as long as three years without payment of duty, thus saving interest charges.[5] Some years later Judd and Trumbull aided in securing a provision allowing most imports to be carried through to Chicago in bond, thus saving handling and storage charges in New York.[6]

A war department official's technical error in 1839 made the delegation no small amount of trouble in the seventies and eighties. The old Fort Dearborn Reservation, no longer needed for military purposes, was divided and sold. An unimportant officer making the division failed to comply with the letter of an Illinois law regarding boundaries, whereupon hangs the following tale of the lake front. In the second place he wrote across a certain space in the official plat, "public grounds to remain forever free of buildings," whereupon follows the story of Dearborn Park and the Chicago Public Library.[7] The Illinois Central Railroad, under state and federal law and municipal ordinance, was given a right-of-way through the waters of Lake Michigan on a line 310 feet east of the east line of Michigan Avenue, and constructed its tracks


STATE ST.
FORT DEARBORN ADDITION
Chicago River
MONROE ST.
MADISON ST.
WASHINGTON ST.
DEARBORN PL.
DEARBORN PARK
RANDOLPH ST.
LAKE ST.
WATER ST.
MICHIGAN AVE.
Original Shore Line (1847)
Sought by I.C.R.R. for Station
THE LAKE FRONT
(FILLED LAND)
ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD

on piles in the shoal water. In time the area between the road and the shore line was filled and became known as the lake front. Business increased and with it the land hunger of the railroad, which desired, among other things, land for the building of a passenger station. A law was lobbied through the state legislature in 1869[8] allowing the sale of the whole lake front from the river to Twelfth street, the three blocks from Randolph to Monroe being desired for the station. This law was repealed in 1873 and the federal circuit court held in 1869 that title to the streets and public grounds on the lake front vested in the United States. The "public grounds" included Dearborn park and the made land between it and the lake shore.

Meantime in 1875 an adventurer named Thomas W. Valentine sought to take advantage of the clouded title by claiming that the Fort Dearborn addition and the lake front were still public lands of the United States and subject to location on some land scrip which he held under an act of 1872.[9] The commissioner of the general land office decided in February, 1878, that his claim was valid.[10] This, combined with the court decision, made some action necessary and in 1876 and 1878 Harrison attempted to pass a bill "to quiet the title of Chicago to the streets, alleys and public grounds in Fort Dearborn Addition." A substitute was reported favorably but never acted on.[11] In 1881 a determined drive was made to transfer the title to the city in order to sell to the railroad. Logan's bill passed the senate allowing transfer of title and permitting the sale of the two blocks of the lake front lying in the Fort Dearborn addition for railroad-station purposes.[12] Aldrich introduced a similar bill which was reported favorably in the house[13] and bade fair to pass when Davis objected, fearing that such a measure would give the railroad company riparian rights along the shore adjacent to its right-of-way.[14] Efforts were made to allay his fears and amendments were thought to have made the Logan bill acceptable to him, but he again opposed it and when it came up in the house so many objections were raised that Aldrich could not secure its consideration.[15] Reading the documents and observing the course of the railroad company before and after this time indicates that Davis did well to hesitate before supporting a proposal which would have turned over so much potentiality for mischief to a company whose relations with the city were certainly far from altruistic. It seems equally true that Aldrich and Logan looked to the three quarters of a million dollars which the railroad was willing to pay for the territory rather than to the ultimate interest of Chicago. The fact that Davis found himself on the same side of the question as the Valentine scrip claimants does not argue that they opposed the transfer of title for the same reasons. At the next session Aldrich introduced a bill which Davis threatened to oppose[16] and the matter passed from congress to go through a long period of litigation before the respective rights of the city and the railroad were finally determined.

Meantime the matter of Dearborn park and the library had arisen. Those seeking a new home for the institution decided that the block bounded by Randolph and Washington streets, Dearborn Place and

Michigan Avenue would be a suitable site. As in the case of the lake front the title was obscured and the land was also dedicated to park purposes. Furthermore, the Academy of Design and the Soldiers' Home desired to share the classic atmosphere to be created by the library.[17] Davis' bills of 1883 and 1884 received no action.[18] Logan's measure of 1886 passed the Senate, proposing to divide the lot among the three institutions, but failed to pass the house.[19] By 1887 the Academy of Design faded from the picture,[20] and the following year a senate bill gave three-fourths of the land to the library and one-fourth to the veterans' organization for a memorial hall,[21] only to have the whole agitation rendered valueless by a supreme court decision holding that the United States had no rights of ownership in Dearborn Park or the lake front, thus negativing the decision of 1869 and removing both questions from the sphere of federal legislation.[22]

The local river and harbor situation commanded considerable attention. The sluggish river created a constant dredging problem; lake storms necessitated breakwaters; and increasing shipping demanded piers, lighthouses and harbor deepening projects. Detailed account of this activity is neither interesting nor significant; suffice it to say that down to 1890 the members were diligent and moderately active in securing such favors at the hand of government. From time to time Douglas, Farnsworth, Trumbull, Arnold, Aldrich, Logan and Adams cared for Chicago's navigation needs. The noticeable fact is that even after the city had several delegates it was rarely that more than one became active at a time. As far as the record shows, progress was usually secured by single individuals who took the particular interest under their wing and pushed it.

The nineties brought a new activity when congress reasserted jurisdiction over navigable rivers, opening the way for exploitation of the Chicago river, whose South Branch opened the drainage channel then being constructed. Matters were further complicated by the rise to industrial and shipping importance of the South Chicago-Calumet area, which formed part of one of the Chicago districts and tended to divide the attention of one member of the group. The possibilities of shifting expenditures to government were not to be overlooked; delegation after delegation worked to this end. Congress, advised by the local engineer officer, hesitated to assume care of a municipal river which was in a fair way to become involved in a tangled web of drainage complications.[23] Local shipping and commercial interests, however, were persistent, urging that such an important matter ought not to be left to the operations of machine politicians in the city council.[24] The delegation requested a survey and estimates of cost of deepening the river to accommodate lake commerce,[25] but uncertainty on the drainage canal hindered action. In 1896 the movement for dredging the river to a depth of sixteen feet got under way in earnest, led by Lorimer, Farwell and a delegation representing business and shipping interests and the common council.[26] Responding to a telegraphed request, the local government engineer hurt the plan by a report lauding the Calumet region as the place of future development and asserting that the Chicago

river was destined to decline.[27] Rebuffed but not daunted, the delegation met and decided to urge improvements for both rivers,[28] and the rivers and harbors bill as passed contained an appropriation of $50,000 for the Chicago river and a continuing contract for $650,000 additional.[29] The Calumet received $50,000 toward dredging a twenty-foot channel two miles from its mouth.

The year 1897 opened a long contest over river deepening growing out of the drainage situation, which was carefully kept out of the debates, and a local traction fight. The twenty-foot channel proposed for the Calumet would give that area a four-foot advantage over the Chicago river; *ergo,* a local move for twenty feet in the latter stream. The drainage canal neared completion and safe navigation depended on a deep channel to carry the increased flowage contemplated. The complications took the form of three street-car tunnels under the river at Washington, LaSalle and Van Buren streets, the first two the property of the city and leased to the West Chicago Railway Company, which owned the third. These were of varying depth and together made impossible a channel more than sixteen feet deep.[30] Center pier bridges and bends in the stream made the situation more difficult. This year saw no congressional accomplishment. In 1898 sentiment began to coalesce and a movement was set on foot for a twenty-foot channel at government expense. A congressional committee visited the city accompanied by the local delegation and much agitation resulted.[31] Four hundred thousand dollars was secured for continuing the existing project, but the failure of the rivers and harbors bill carried the twenty-foot survey to its death.[32] The principal actor in the long struggle first became prominent at this time. James R. Mann, whose district included the Calumet, came out strongly against asking the government to deepen the Chicago river, urging that it was a local work and a city obligation.[33] To make heresy doubly damnable to the pork hunters he secured at the next session large and increasing appropriations for the river and harbor at Calumet.[34] A newspaper war of no mean proportions was waged upon him, the burden of which was that he used his activities on the Chicago river as a smoke screen to cover up his real preference for the Calumet.[35] The matter came before congress only in his successful attempt to secure a survey and estimates of cost for a twenty-one foot channel in the Chicago river, assuming that the city remove the tunnels and bridge piers.[36] This would seem to refute the oft-repeated charge that he was overly partial to the Calumet and to argue that he had the interests of the city at heart.[37] His proposal was a municipal ordinance requiring the street car company to lower the tunnels, after which he felt sure that the government would take the needed action.[38] It is noteworthy that to this point the only other member of the delegation to evince a public interest was Foss, who favored government action in widening and deepening the channel, but took no stand on tunnel-removal.[39]

In 1900 the city council ordered the tunnels lowered.[40] A congressional debate showed conclusively that the city could not expect aid in deepening the river until it had rid itself of the obstructions. Mann continued active for the Calumet, but he also made a valiant though

unavailing effort to secure a survey for turning basins in each branch of the Chicago river. These would allow lake vessels to reverse themselves after unloading in the river. Congress refused, knowing that the tunnels would prevent their usefulness. Mann had his first assistance from the floor when Boutell aided his efforts.[41] Finally, wearied by local inertia, he concluded that affirmative government action was necessary and in 1903 introduced a resolution declaring the Van Buren street tunnel a nuisance and ordering the railway company to remove or lower it.[42] The judge advocate general soon ruled that the government would incur no obligations in case such a proposal was enacted, and Mann followed this with a bill declaring all the tunnels nuisances and ordering them removed or lowered on pain of a fine of $10,000 a month.[43] This was passed in 1904.[44]

The local situation now reacts on the national more apparently than heretofore. The traction question, hardy perennial in the garden of Chicago politics, was at the bottom of the matter. So strong was the local pressure that the democratic mayor united with a republican council to try to stave off action. On Mann's side were naturally arrayed the shipping interests, desirous of making the utmost use of the opportunities offered by the city. Acting for the mayor, Foster offered an amendment to the bill designed to postpone the time when the tunnels must be lowered, and the democrats in the delegation unitedly upheld his stand in the only yea-and-nay vote recorded in the entire controversy.[45] As passed, the bill provided that the obstructions must be removed by April 15, 1906. It is no part of the present story to relate the municipal policy which tolerated and encouraged delay after delay in its execution. Indeed, it was not until April 16, 1906, the day after the city was to begin paying the fine, that a tardy delegation reached Washington to plead for more time;[46] and it was not until February, 1907, that the vessel owners could feel assured that the work was under way.[47] In 1905 Lorimer tried again to secure appropriations for deepening the river following the congressional action.[48] He failed, however, and it was not until 1907 that $200,000 was secured for deepening. With this episode the river largely ceased to be a congressional problem. The Calumet-Chicago rivalry came to the fore again in 1908 and Mann introduced and secured passage in 1909 of a provision calling for a complete survey of the river and harbor situation in the Chicago area.[49] This delayed legislation for some time pending a report.[50] Meantime the city itself had become alive to the need of harbor improvement and had developed plans along this line. These involved less and less congressional activity and the pressure for appropriations was correspondingly lessened.

The foregoing account is indicative of various facts. In the long run the delegation worked for the interests of the city. However, on a crucial matter the reactions of local politics prevented unity, and the desire for appropriations outweighed evident consideration of wisdom. Throughout the period the outstanding fact is the lack of general participation in debate on a matter of such vital local interest. Again and again a single member bore the burden of securing favorable ap-

propriations. This is partly explainable by the location of certain waterways in particular districts. It is also true that not all congressional activity appears in the *Record*. In the later days it may be somewhat due to the special vigor and activity of Mann, whose incurable urge to work left his colleagues far behind. But when press and documents alike are largely silent in chronicling general activity on so important a question it is safe to conclude that full duty is not being performed by all concerned.

The delegation's work in postal affairs centered largely along three lines: securing postoffice appropriations and later pleading for increases over the original amounts; supporting the pneumatic tube system of rapid city deliveries; and in general lauding the work of the postal employees and trying to secure improvements in their salary and working conditions with half an eye on the group's voting strength. These activities commanded considerable unity and a large degree of participation by the delegation. The first two deserve brief mention. After the disastrous fire of 1871 the necessary new building was authorized the same year, to cost not more than $4,000,000.[51] During construction the members rallied frequently to increase appropriations beyond the amount set in the act, and were several times successful.[52] Within a decade of completion the structure demonstrated its poor construction and adaptation to its duties, and the delegation sought repair appropriations, several of which were secured.[53] In 1891 Taylor urged a new building, justifying action by prospective business from the proposed world's fair.[54] Such was authorized in 1895 after delays caused partly by local differences over the site[55] and partly by a parliamentary tangle which prevented action on the McGann bill authorizing a $4,000,000 building on the existing site, bounded by Jackson, Clark, Adams and Dearborn streets.[56] Construction delays were repeated, this time complicated by charges of collusion between the special architect, appointed to take control of the operations out of the hands of the regular government officers, and a contractor.[57] These difficulties did not prevent the delegation, through Boutell, from seeking to increase the limit of cost from $4,000,000 to $4,790,000, a move which failed of complete success by only $40,000.[58] Mann's strenuous but ineffective opposition was almost the sole example of a break in the solid front of the delegation in favor of postal facilities.

The pneumatic tube was a device for rapid intra-urban transportation of first-class mail, developed in England and pressed by an eager lobby at Washington. Sensing the value of such a device at Chicago, several members tried valiantly to secure appropriations for the city, but the system was abandoned before these succeeded.[59] It was later renewed and this time Chicago was among the favored cities. Still later another move for suspension, supported by the postmaster-general, who preferred automobile transportation, was vigorously opposed by several members.[60] This persistent support of a costly and seemingly somewhat exotic type of transportation is easy to understand in a city growing ever more traffic-congested.

Two other matters deserve passing comment. The first is the sustained note of dissatisfaction at the lack of governmental attention to the city's needs in the way of equipment and service. There are repeated complaints because Chicago is discriminated against while furnishing more than her share of the country's postal revenue. The second is the important and able service given to the larger aspects of postal affairs by one Chicago representative, Madden, who for years devoted himself largely to this type of legislation and became important in the committee on post offices and post roads before entering the line of activity which made him chairman of the appropriations committee.[61]

Chicago congressmen took a leading part in overcoming the almost continual opposition to the plan and execution of the Columbian Exposition. The first hurdle to be topped was a four-cornered fight between Washington, New York, St. Louis and Chicago over the location of the "world's fair." Chicago won the first heat by getting the Adams bill referred to the committee on foreign affairs, of which R. R. Hitt (Rep.), an Illinoisan, was chairman, but a bit of maneuvering sent the matter to a special committee, a delay which hurt Chicago's chances.[62]. Speaker Thomas B. Reed's contest over the rules further aided the delayers, and the bill was not finally reported until February 14, 1890. The vote on the site was taken February 24, after two days of debate in which all the Chicago members were active, led by Adams, Mason and Lawler.[63] Chicago won after a six-hour battle, receiving a majority of the first-choice votes. The bill itself then passed[64] and the delegation, backed by an active lobby[65], had won its first battle.

Eighteen ninety-one saw efforts to restrict the activities of the exposition officials appointed under the act of 1890 and a successful move to cut the operating appropriation. In 1892 persistent rumors of extravagance caused an investigating committee to recommend drastic cuts in expenditure.[66] After considerable jockeying, including a congressional junket of some three hundred people to Chicago to inspect the work completed,[67] it was decided to ask an added appropriation by minting ten million half-dollar coins, which would cost the government about $3,500,000 and were to be repaid out of the receipts of the fair.[68] This passed the house on the sundry civil bill. The senate made some increases and when the bill came back to the house a prolonged filibuster was led by avowed enemies of the exposition. It took all the ingenuity of the fair supporters, led by A. C. Durborow (Dem.), chairman of the special committee, to secure any aid whatever. For a week the houses wrangled, the only disputed item being the Chicago appropriation. Twice special resolutions had to be rushed through to continue existing appropriations lest the wheels of the government printing office and the bureau of engraving and printing be stopped by lack of money to pay the employees. The speaker refused to kill the filibuster and for days the matter hung in the balance, to be ended finally by a bill giving outright $2,500,000 by means of the coinage device.[69] As far as the records show, this fight was won almost entirely by Taylor and Durborow, the other two members, McGann and W. C. Newberry (Dem.) participating but slightly in the debates.

Returning in conclusion to the text taken at the opening of the chapter, the case studies just completed indicate that the editor's momentary pique led him to overstate the situation as far as the delegation's attitude toward local issues is concerned. Contrary to his assertion there has been very little division evident when a local interest has been before congress and the occasions when there has been a split in the delegation have been rare indeed. Had he made the point, however, that the average participation on any given issue was not high, he would have been on safer ground. Indeed, this tendency to leave the brunt of the attack to one or a few members seems the outstanding fact to be derived from the foregoing study. Again and again important legislation was brought forward by an individual and he was left by his confreres to work for it alone or supported by one or two colleagues. It is true, of course, that not all congressional activity finds its way into the pages of the *Record* or the newspapers; work in the committee-room, the cloakroom, the corridor and over the dinner-table is often more effective than reams of oratory and many gestures. It is a further truism that the conduct of affairs in the house militates against the chance of an individual's speaking on a given subject, even if near to his personal or local interest. Another limiting factor is found in the tendency toward specialization in legislation as in all other lines, which further circumscribes the number of matters in which a member can take an intelligent interest. Granting all these limitations, however, the conclusion seems valid that the average amount of work performed per member per important local issue has not been high.

Turning to the sorts of issues which have arisen one finds that the expenditure of government funds in the local area has been the object usually sought. Commercial and river improvements, postoffice construction and the world's fair all brought money to Chicago in addition to their value in facilitating business, and the lake front move, if successful, would have had the same result. Judging the group by the prevalent standard of congressional stature, which seems to be the amount of good a delegate can do his particular district, Chicago's members have rendered a fair account of their stewardship. One leaves such a study, however, with the feeling that the field of local improvements does not offer the broadest opportunity for exercising legislative talents and that there may be some falsity in the standard of values which judges a member by the amount of "bacon" he can bring home to his district. For, in the last analysis, the preceding chapter has been a description of the "pork-securing" ability of the delegation.

CHAPTER VIII—NOTES

[1] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 12, 1925.

[2] His bill passed the house Dec. 31, 1845. *Globe*, 29th cong., 1st sess., 120.

[3] After his bill had failed to pass an amendment was added to the naval appropriation bill, June 15, 1848. *House journal*, 30th cong., 1st sess., 904-5.

[4] The maritime jurisdiction law was drafted by Douglas as a result of Chicago agitation. It passed in 1845. *Senate journal*, 28th cong., 2d sess., 199; *house journal, ibid.*, 466; *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, Mar. 12, 1845. Wentworth's court bill became law in 1848. *House journal*, 30th cong., 1st sess., 629; *senate journal, ibid.*, 313.

[5] Another bill finally became law, but his agitation was decisive in the action.

[6] Judd's bill to this effect was beaten several times, but a measure based on it passed in 1870 after three years of agitation. *Globe*, 41st cong., 2d sess., 5105, 5205-6; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 21, 1869, June 29, 1870.

[7] The many committee reports cited in connection with the various bills cover the details presented here.

[8] Provisions outlined in *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 6, 1881.

[9] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 30, 1878.

[10] Another secretary reversed this decision in 1879. *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 2, 1879.

[11] His bill of 1876 passed the house June 17. *House journal*, 44th cong., 1st sess., 1116; *house report* No. 615, *ibid.*

[12] Jan. 20, 1881. *Senate journal*, 46th cong., 3d sess., 178; *senate report* No. 795, *ibid.*

[13] *House report* No. 316, 46th cong., 3d sess. The minority reports on these bills are particularly valuable.

[14] His opposition bill would allow the city to "sell or lease the three northern blocks of the Lake-Front to any persons or corporations, and on such terms as the city may prescribe." This differed from the Aldrich bill in that it did not specify the use to which the land was to be devoted, whereas the latter had been drafted specifically to enable Chicago to give a quit-claim deed to the railroad. *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 13, 16, 1881.

[15] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 22, Feb. 20, 24, 26, Mar. 6, 1881; *Record*, 46th cong., 3d sess., 1469.

[16] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 19, 23, 1882.

[17] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 19, 24, 1882.

[18] *House report* No. 1561, 48th cong., 1st sess.; *Chicago Tribune*, May 2, 1884.

[19] *Senate journal*, 49th cong., 1st sess., 943; *Chicago Tribune*, June 21, 1886.

[20] Several hearings made it plain that the tripartite division was not satisfactory to the city. *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 11, 30, Feb. 7, 9, 1887; *house report* No. 4162, 49th cong., 2d sess.

[21] Passed Mar. 21, 1888. *Senate journal*, 50th cong., 1st sess., 515-16.

[22] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 24, 1888; Kirk Hawes, *A Condensed History of Dearborn Park, and the Efforts which have been made during the past Eight Years to secure the Right to erect a Public Library Building and a Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Hall on the same* (Chicago, 1891), 1-5.

[23] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 14, Mar. 14, 1894.

[24] *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 22, Apr. 1, 1892.

[25] This move was the second necessary step prior to securing an appropriation. The first was a preliminary survey to determine the feasibility of the given project, usually taking two years. This had been ordered in the rivers and harbors act of 1892. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXVII, ch. 158. Act of July 13. After the report on surveys and estimates the matter was before congress for the third step, appropriations, if that body deemed wise. *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 17, 1899.

[26] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 25, 27, 28, 1896.

[27] *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 5, 14, 1896.

[28] *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 10, 1896.

[29] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXIX, ch. 314. Act of June 6, 1896. The continuing contract was a convenient device by which contracts were let at will to be paid for as the work was completed. *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 12, 1896.

[30] The Van Buren street tunnel was eighteen feet deep and the other two sixteen. *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1898.

[31] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 19, Feb. 20, 21, 1898.

[32] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXX, ch. 546.

[33] The other members favored the project. *Chicago Post*, Nov. 26, 1897. Mann wrote Alderman John Coughlin: "The matter is a very simple one, and the way to do it is to do it. All the talk and froth about having the

national government deepen and widen the river will amount to nothing until the city government, which is supposed to represent the wishes of Chicago people, takes active steps toward removing the obstructions placed there by the city." *Ibid.* An interesting sidelight is thrown by the following excerpts: "Mr. Boutell stirred up another hornet's nest when he said the sanitary conditions demanded a widening and deepening of the river channel . . . . Capt. Dunham and Geo. E. Adams were much distressed at Mr. Boutell's reference to the sanitary ends to be subserved by government work in the river, as they have all along feared that the idea might get abroad that the government was being asked to build Chicago's sewer system, and they knew that impression might kill the movement to improve the channel. Mr. Adams . . . . took occasion to say that above all else nothing must be done in the way of mixing the sanitary canal with the river improvement project." *Ibid.*

[34] $150,000 for the harbor and $60,000 for the river. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXX, ch. 425. Act of Mar. 3, 1899.

[35] *Chicago Times Herald*, May 12, 1899.

[36] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXX, ch. 425. Act of Mar. 3, 1899.

[37] He wrote the *Daily Calumet* that it "ought to be understood that there is no occasion for rivalry between the Chicago and Calumet rivers. There can easily be brought through the city of Chicago commerce enough to give both rivers full employment." Jan. 20, 1899.

[38] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 19, 1899; see also his letter of Jan. 28 to Joseph Medill. *James R. Mann Papers* (in Library of Congress).

[39] *Chicago Record*, Apr. 12, 1899.

[40] *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 20, 1900. The ordinance passed Mar. 19.

[41] *Record*, 56th cong., 2d sess., 1097-99; *ibid.*, appendix, 93-99; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 15, 1901; *Chicago Record*, Jan. 17; *Chicago News*, *ibid.* The rivers and harbors bill died in the senate.

[42] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 20, 1903.

[43] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 28, 1903; *Chicago Post*, *ibid.*; *house report* No. 3746, 57th cong., 2d sess., recommended passage of the bill, but it was not acted on.

[44] *Record*, 58th cong., 2d sess., 4882, 5411.

[45] The debate on the bill is found in *Record*, 58th cong., 2d sess., 4876-81. Mann's report is found in *house report* No. 1855, *ibid.*

[46] *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 18, 1906.

[47] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 22, 1907.

[48] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 9, 1905.

[49] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXXV, pt. I, ch. 264. Act of Mar. 3, 1909.

[50] Preliminary report rendered in 1911. *House document* No. 710, 62d cong., 2d sess. Final report in 1913. *House document* No. 237, 63d cong., 1st sess.

[51] *House journal*, 42d cong., 2d sess., 75; *senate journal*, *ibid.*, 66.

[52] By 1877 $400,000 had been added to the original $4,000,000. *Record*, 44th cong., 2d sess., 1796; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XIX, ch. 105. Two bills in 1878 added $450,000. *Record*, 45th cong., 2d sess., 1888, 4393, 4446-50; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XX, chs. 75, 359. The sundry civil bill of 1879 carried $525,000. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XX, ch. 181.

[53] June 18, 1888. Lawler moved such an amendment, urging that in the past three years $90,000 had been so expended. *Record*, 50th cong., 1st sess., 5358-60.

[54] His bill was reported favorably but not passed. *House report* No. 3556, 51st cong., 2d sess.

[55] A project to use part of the lake front was set aside due to troubles over securing a valid title. *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 19, 1892, Apr. 24, May 4, 5, 18, 25, 1894.

[56] *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 9, 1894; *Record*, 53d cong., 2d sess., 8321-28. The bill was put through by the aid of a persistent lobby. *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 14, 15, 18, 19, 1895; *Record*, 53d cong., 3d sess., 1189-97.

[57] Lorimer's bill of 1896 authorized a special architect. *Record*, 54th cong., 1st sess., 880-89. Mann charged that the supervising architect had been in cahoots with one of the contractors. His resolution calling for information was answered by *house reports* No. 2752 and 3158, 57th cong., 2d sess.

[58] *Record*, 57th cong., 2d sess., 2833-35, 3030-31.

[59] Mann, Noonan, Lorimer and especially Mason took part in this move between 1899 and 1901, the last leading a half-day fight for the proposal. *Record*, 55th cong., 3d sess., 2047-51; *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 29, 1900; *Record*, 56th cong., 1st sess., 4678, 5645-46, 5741, 5791-93; *ibid.*, 56th cong., 2d sess., 2574-81; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 1, 8, 21, 22, 1901.

[60] *Record*, 64th cong., 2d sess., 1214-17, 1347, 3267-70; *ibid*,. 65th cong., 2d sess., 6917, 7761-63.

[61] See his speech of June 3, 1920. *Record*, 66th cong., 1st sess., 8386-88.

[62] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 16-18, 1890; *house journal*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 129-31; *Record*, *ibid*, 645-55. The delay was thought to favor New York, which was rushing a bill for a substantial donation through its legislature.

[63] *Record*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 1551-65; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 25, 1890.

[64] *House journal*, 51st cong., 1st sess., 271.

[65] Three Pullmans full of Chicagoans left for Washington on the eve of the debate. *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 22, 1890.

[66] *Record*, 52d cong., 1st sess., 933-50; *house report* No. 1454, *ibid.* The report was critical, but friendly.

[67] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 21, 22, 1892.

[68] *Chicago Tribune*, May 5, 1892.

[69] *Chicago Tribune*, July 27–Aug. 6, 1892; *house journal*, 52d cong., 1st sess., 336-53; *Record*, *ibid.*, 7059, 7089-7102; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXVII, ch. 381.

CHAPTER IX

ACTIVITIES AND PERSONALITIES

The present study should not be concluded without some attempt to evaluate the activities and personalities of the group. Hitherto the examination has concerned itself largely with the reactions of group and individuals toward particular problems, giving little attention to the totality of the individual's activity or his value to the delegation and the nation. It is now proposed to classify the members according to major interests as shown by the record, remembering that a complete picture would indicate work in committee and before the departments. The criterion of classification chosen, namely, breadth and variety of interests, with particular emphasis on the distinction between the local and the national, is arbitrary but suggestive. Whatever the American theory of representation may be it is practically true that a delegate's principal duty is to his immediate constituents and the demands of his district. It is not unfair to assume, therefore, that the member who can satisfy these demands and at the same time participate in discussion of national issues should be rated differently than the one not so fortunate or able. As a preliminary to arrangement the individual records of the seventy-eight members have been studied in detail and a summary of their major interests prepared. As a result four fairly distinct classifications present themselves.

The first and largest group confined itself almost exclusively to affairs of direct local interest. Twenty-nine worked for such matters as appropriations for local river and harbor improvements, postoffice con-

struction and the maintenance of the Chicago postal service, local aspects of the tariff, oleomargarine legislation and immigration, long a burning issue to members representing a polyglot constituency. These were occasionally combined with matters of temporary significance such as the waterway, packing house legislation, attacks on dealing in futures, the Columbian exposition and others. As a rule this segment did not serve many terms at Washington, the average being under that of the whole delegation.[1] The next group of seventeen divided its activity between national and local problems, evincing considerable interest in the larger aspects of legislation while maintaining a definite connection with the local situation. These members frequently viewed national questions through the perspective of local needs, and such matters as the tariff, interstate commerce, child labor, postal savings, trust legislation and the money question were treated both in the large and in their special relations to the demands of an urban area. The average length of service was highest in this group, being ten years. In the third class, containing sixteen members, are found those with whom national interests and the broad view of affairs occupied major attention. This does not imply indifference to local needs, but rather that these tended to be subordinate to national questions. The period of service is somewhat shorter than in the second class but the two approximate quite closely. The final group of sixteen comprises those whose careers were so colorless as to furnish insufficient data for classification in any of the first three. The average length of service is the shortest, being 1.75 terms. Nine served but one term before being relegated to private life, but one member achieved the distinction of serving twelve years without making a single speech. The brief service of this non-participating group undoubtedly tended to curtail activity. Several of the more valuable members did little during their early terms until a constant constituency returned them often enough to learn the ropes of procedure and become useful units in the scheme of things congressional.

Some interesting conclusions derive from the facts presented above. The most obvious and important is that the delegation has not maintained a high level of activity in affairs of general moment. The members of the first and fourth groups, making considerably more than half the total, took only a negligible interest in national affairs, confining themselves to local matters or letting their ballots speak their minds. This means that a minority has had to bear the burden and heat of the day both on national and local questions, since those whose interests transcended the locality were not absolved thereby from looking after their constituents' immediate demands. This becomes more evident on noting that several of those in the second and third groups, despite their broad views, did not greatly influence affairs due to the shortness of their period of service.[2] It is not unfair to say that the really influential members did not exceed a score and that half this number would include those worthy of rating as national figures. As would be expected, nearly all the prominent members fall in either the second or third groups.[3]

This mention of the prominent and influential members raises the question as to which individuals come within this category. The following men appear to the author, after study of the whole membership, to merit special mention. Some deserve prominence within the delegation because of their power in local politics or for their much speaking. Of those whose names are italicized to indicate a certain national prominence, some attained the distinction by constructive legislative work, others through extra-congressional activity, and others largely because committee assignments and seniority raised them to the leadership of important committees. The list follows: Adams, Arnold, Boutell, Britten, *Douglas,* Farwell, *Foss, Lewis, Logan,* Lorimer, *Madden, Mann, Mason, McCormick,* Sabath, *Trumbull* and Wentworth.

Douglas' fateful rôle as chairman of the committee on territories in the most delicate of periods has already received attention. When questions of reconstruction policy became vitally important Trumbull as chairman of the judiciary committee influenced many decisions. Logan rode his charger into the chairmanship of the military affairs committee in each house at a time when the army tended to lapse into its usual peace-time position of subordination. By faithful service Foss rose to a ten-year chairmanship of the naval affairs committee during the recrudescence of the American navy, but lost his position when the democratic landslide of 1912 kept him at home for one congress. Mason's stand against imperialism and his opposition to the forces which were leading the country into the world war brought him publicity and ill-repute. Mann rose through the ranks to the chairmanship of the committee on interstate and foreign commerce only to lose his place in the same upheaval which unseated Foss. Lewis and McCormick rose to prominence during world war and peace treaty times, the one through his semi-official position as defender of the Wilson administration and the other as one of the "bitter-enders" who helped to save the United States from the octopus clutches of the league of nations. Madden's varied interests ultimately concentrated around financial matters and after able work in the movement for a federal budget he found himself seated at the head of the committee on appropriations, one of the most important of house positions. It is also significant to note that this list includes all the important committee chairmanships which have fallen to the delegation during the eighty-two years of Chicago representation studied. Douglas and Trumbull gave the delegation a committee prominence not regained until the days of Foss, Mann and Madden. This situation suggests considerations meriting somewhat further discussion.

Questions of committee prominence and general activity are intimately connected with length of service. Other things being equal, it should be true under the American system that seniority brings committee preferment and consequently increased opportunities. Viewing the group from this standpoint two tendencies present themselves.[4] The first is the early tendency to keep the Chicago senators in office, with its concomitant of important positions held by the individuals. Douglas, Trumbull and Logan were reëlected with considerable regularity, rose to

head their respective committees and, through a fortunate conjunction of circumstances the first two played a large part in large affairs. Since Logan's day no Chicago senator has been reëlected and the city has frequently been unrepresented, with consequent loss of prestige.[5] The second is a tendency beginning in the middle nineties to return the members of the lower house with greater regularity, resulting in growing activity of individuals and increasing importance of committee assignments. Prior to December, 1895, Wentworth was the only member to serve six terms. Since then no less than ten have equalled or excelled that record, Chicago's members have become increasingly important in affairs, and her only important chairmanships have been obtained. This increased prestige could not be traced solely to greater continuity of tenure, but it is certain that that continuity is a factor. Granting the ability of such delegates as Madden and Mann; granting also any concessions which they may have received in the way of favorable committee assignments at the beginning of their service; it yet remains true that they could not have become so prominent without the aid of a constituency or an organization at home enabling them to return repeatedly for the slow process by which chairmen are made.

Evaluating the personalities of the delegation presents difficulties. The preceding discussion indicates that many members left no record by which their activity can be measured. This is even more true of personalities. The *Congressional Directory* is by no means a confessional of personal peculiarities or political capabilities; neither is it a revealer of the intimate details which make the public man interesting to his public. The press is partisan or fulsome, depending on whether the person under discussion is a candidate for office or the subject of an obituary notice. No congressman was ever accused of maligning a deceased colleague in the memorial addresses which furnish one of the commonest sources of information. Balancing all of these against the impression gained from reading individual speeches and watching personal reactions may, however, give a fair index of some leading members. One general observation may precede this series of thumbnail sketches anent the prevailing lack of what may be called colorful personalities. The sprightly paragrapher found little here; orators were few though able debaters were not infrequent; most of the members lacked or suppressed the knack of appealing to the public interest. Such epithets as "plain and substantial," "accomplished much for the city," "devoted to his duties," "a prudent, safe man," "extremely active in the interests of his constituents" are the ones most frequently encountered. The following vignettes therefore represent the unusual rather than the typical and justify themselves by their contrast to the rather dead-level average of the group.

Much of the delegation's color was splashed on the canvas during the early years of the city's representation, with Wentworth, Douglas and Logan furnishing the high lights and Trumbull, Arnold, Judd and Farwell the more sober background of the picture. "Long John" came to congress with the mud of a prairie town still on his boots and the echoes of its local politics still dinning in his ears and never entirely

removed the one or silenced the other.[6] Called a long-legged demagogue by the discerning but dyspeptic John Quincy Adams, he nevertheless played a not unimportant part in legislation, being known for his advocacy of river and harbor improvements, railroad land grants, freedom, high tariff and hard money. Breaking with Douglas on the Kansas-Nebraska bill and local matters, he was for years the "Jupiter Tonans" of Illinois republicanism. A good hater, a ruthless opponent and possessing an egotism commensurate with his frame, he walked alone the paths of political leadership, unable to brook companionship and suspicious of all associates. Lacking the spark of human fellowship which draws men, he yet was able to compel them by his forceful will and intellect. A canny politician, his nose was ever keen to the shifting political breezes. He once wrote: "I have always held back until I became fully satisfiede [sic] that I was the choice, over & and above all other men, of a very large number of really active and discriminating men . . . . There are men who have been making money by bets on my head for twenty years, for they know that I do not run until I see my way clear . . . ."[7] J. K. C. Forrest, long his editorial writer on the *Chicago Daily Democrat,* summarized his character as follows:

> John Wentworth was an almost perfect incarnation of the human intellect, unwarmed by emotion, other than the most material desires—a rough-hewn intellect, appetitive rather than sentimental or passionate . . . . So independent and defiant was the intellectual part of the man, so obnoxious was it to that "touch of nature that makes the whole world kin," that he would have none but John Wentworth build John Wentworth's monument.

Despite his faults he was long his city's foremost citizen, serving for several terms as mayor and rendering conspicuous service while not neglecting his own interests.

Douglas furnished the physical antithesis of Wentworth and a rather even admixture of similarity and difference in personal traits. Slight, swart, huge-headed and volatile, he could not impress by his presence but could prevail by his personality.[8] No cold and aloof driver was this, dragooning men into his train, but a warm, impulsive, affectionate and friendly charmer who perched himself on a friend's knee and, throwing arm about shoulder, uttered publicly sentiments of endearment not often passed between members of his sex. An indefatigable campaigner, he widened the bounds of his acquaintance and adherents as the limits of his leaping ambition enlarged. His wide interests tended to center themselves in the west, whose prototype he largely was, and no measure of contemporary imperialism was unmarked by his activity. Drawn thus into the slavery maelstrom, he battled the waves valiantly but unsuccessfully. To this task of territorial and labor adjustment he brought no small talents. No orator, he possessed a neverfailing torrent of words which could be turned on at a moment's notice and which, devoid of humor and historical analogies, was yet likely to overwhelm by its Niagara-like volume. He not only out-talked his opponents, but often lost them in the mazes of an ingenious argument which left them wondering what it was all about. Blaine said of him that "Where he could not elucidate a point to his own advantage, he would fatally becloud it for his opponent."[9] Mrs. Stowe wrote that[10]

His forte in debating is his power of mystifying the point. With the most off-hand assured airs in the world, and a certain appearance of honest superiority, like one who has a regard for you and wishes to set you right on one or two little matters, he proceeds to set up some point which is *not* the one in question, but only a family connection of it, and this point he attacks with the very best of logic and language; he charges upon it horse and foot, runs it down, tramples it in the dust, and then turns upon you with—"Sir, there is your argument! Did I not tell you so? You see it is all stuff;" . . . . It is a merciful providence that with all his alertness and adroitness, all his quick-witted keenness, Douglas is not witty—that might have made him too irresistible a demagogue for the liberties of our laughter-loving people, to whose weaknesses he is altogether too well adapted now.

Some attempt has already been made to evaluate Douglas in the scheme of things, including a lengthy notice of his continued and consistent championing of popular sovereignty.[11] It has also been suggested that while he was technically right in maintaining his constancy to this principle, he changed from time to time the content of the idea to suit immediate needs until at last, caught in the meshes of his own consistency, he lost one after another the friends which the shibboleth had brought him. Thus he ended his career clasping to his bosom the mere skeleton of popular sovereignty, stripped of the adorning votes by which he had hoped to make it his companion in a journey to the white house. Of him it must be said that he missed his goal and that even death, that great transmuter of politicians into statesmen, had not sufficient alchemy to perform for him its accustomed office.

Lyman Trumbull, constitutionalist, was the third member of the early Illinois triumvirate. A slight, bespectacled man, carrying over from his days of school-teaching a quiet and unassuming demeanor, he made little impression at first acquaintance save for a kindliness of manner.[12] Let a question of rights under the constitution or a statute be called up, however, and he became a feared and respected debater, whose opinion was looked up to by his peers and the country at large. Like Douglas his speech lacked ornaments and tricks, but unlike his colleague, he had the habit of seeing to the heart of a question and hewing to the line of an argument. His part in reconstruction legislation has been detailed and need not be repeated here. Two faults kept him from scaling the heights of political attainment: a conscience and a lack of popular appeal. His sense of political justice led him first to desert the democratic party over Kansas-Nebraska and then to leave his adopted republican brethren on reconstruction. Still later, near the close of his congressional career, he joined the liberal republican heresy, making himself no longer welcome in the regular ranks and driving him again to the democracy. None ever questioned that each step in this cycle was taken from honest motives and he lived out his career respected by even his enemies. His second weakness was that he lacked the spark which made men willing to follow such leaders as Douglas and Henry Clay to the death. Depending too much on intellectual force in a day when leadership was sustained by less elevated means, he was driven to retreat from one position to another and from one party to another, ever seeking a place for himself. Two contemporary opinions will indicate what his fellows thought of him. Isaac N. Arnold, his

colleague in the house, said of him in 1880 that "As a practical legislator, as a man for useful, thorough and honest work, guided by the purest motives, and the clearest good sense, he had no superior in the Senate. . . ."[13] A *Chicago Tribune* editorial on one of his confiscation speeches epitomizes him admirably:[14]

> Without imagination or humor, without wit, without peculiar felicity of expression, the author of the speech to which we refer is one of the most commanding men of the Republic. Deeply learned in all that relates to the Constitution and the Laws; accustomed from his former judicial position to weigh testimony and estimate probabilities; with a moral sense as keen as that of any puritan who ever lived; of eminent blamelessness of personal character and private life; without the passionate incentives by which the majority of men are impelled, he is one of the most marked and influential members of the august body to which he belongs. His forte is his logical sense—his eminent capacity to distinguish the real from, as Carlyle says, the *simulacra*—and in his unaffected plainness of speech, which whatever be the theme, drives straight at the truth . . . . Had he the deep sense of the beautiful, and the capability of dressing his thoughts in splendid imagery—the characteristics of Webster; or had he the passionate zeal of Clay, or the malignity and sarcasm of Randolph, the claim of his friends that he is one of the ablest men of the nation would never be disputed, even by his enemies.

His career, while presenting little to awaken enthusiasm, offers a most satisfying study and makes him the leading candidate of the delegation for statesman's laurels.

Trumbull's mantle fell with somewhat ill grace on Logan, the blunt, hot-tempered, swaggering Illinoisan who shared the senatorship with him during the forty-second congress. This Logan, heavy-browed, fierce-mustached and violent in his opinions, had started his career as a henchman of Douglas when slavery was a crying issue in his state and had earned the cognomen of "Dirty Work" Logan for his willingness to do the bidding of the southern sympathizers. Converted by war and political consideration into an equally ardent radical, he championed reconstruction and the cause of the ex-soldier during the remainder of his public life. As a legislator his main virtue was the earnestness with which he supported any cause which he espoused, an earnestness which helped to make up for any lack of more minute technical preparation in the actual merits of the case. Constant to his friends and a tireless worker in their behalf, he was an equally good enemy, and perhaps his outstanding performance in the senate was his continued opposition to the reinstatement in good standing of general Fitz John Porter who had been cashiered during the civil war. The vital spark which Trumbull lacked kept him close to the hearts of his people, and a colleague said of him that "There has not been another man in public life who had Gen. Logan's following among the people of our State. I think he was closer to the people than Lincoln or Douglas in their lifetime. . . ." Senator Palmer said of him in the course of a funeral oration that "If he had been caught in the eddies and cyclones of the French Revolution, he would have been Danton's coadjutor, if not Danton himself; Danton the furious, the generous, the unrestrainable, the untamed."[15]

This completes the tale of first-rate characters for a considerable period. Several members of minor importance but passing interest crossed the stage and may be mentioned briefly. Arnold, first champion of the Illinois ship canal and ardent exponent of freedom for the negro, flashed his brief hour and gave way to Judd, Lincoln's first diplomatic appointee and Johnson's first removal, who carried on the ship canal propaganda. Farwell, dubbed "Poker Charley" by Wentworth in the heat of a primary campaign, brought to Washington a prodigious capacity for silence which he maintained through four congressional terms and one period in the senate save when the matters nearest his heart, banking and finance, were under discussion. He was, however, an excellent "working member" and accomplished much for his delegation.[16] Carter Harrison remained long enough to make two speeches whose flambuoyant oratory rose to plague him in later years.[17] Adams, of scholarly tastes and retiring personality, typifies the safe, conservative and regular member of somewhat more than average ability.[18]

William E. ("Billy") Mason went through a stormy career in both houses. A leading republican stump speaker, he was for years a popular figure in the state and after two terms as congressman went to the senate by the votes of the Lorimer machine which he had fought consistently.[19] He won a quick reputation for wit and ability on the floor but lost party caste by courageous opposition to imperialism after the Spanish-American war and was relegated to the discard for years. He worked his way up the political ladder once more to be elected representative-at-large, only to run foul of popular opinion by an anti-war and anti-draft attitude in 1917-18. Like Trumbull on a lesser scale, he dared to stand for what his convictions told him to be right in the face of party suicide and public opprobrium. Called the ideal congressman, his free-and-easy manners were somewhat trying to the austere dignity of the senate.[20]

Frederick Lundin (Rep.) and Lorimer represent the professional politician. Lundin, the "Poor Swede" of Chicago politics, a Lorimer lieutenant before setting up as a boss on his own account, emerged from the occult places of the political manipulator to become Lorimer's *fidus Achates* for a single term as a reward for faithful service in the local arena. At Washington he distinguished himself by an almost total silence, and returned to the more congenial field of local politics. Lorimer, the constable who rose to congressman and senator, presents a phenomenon worthy of more careful study than the limits of the present work permit. Raising himself by his own bootstraps by virtue of his ability to organize and control an ever-larger area of the city, he became a power and finally claimed his reward in an election to the house. Here he maintained his reputation for silence save when a local interest was involved, and was mainly conspicuous for his absence from roll-calls.[21] Given a local issue, however, and he became activity personified, and even his arch-enemy, the *Chicago Tribune,* was forced again and again to testify to his efficient labors in behalf of his district.[22] Had he been content to remain in the house he might have served long and

faithfully the waterway and the packers, for whom he was most solicitous. His desire to assume the senatorial toga cost him his place in public life after a long and bitter struggle in which the senate decided that corrupt means had been used to secure his election.

Foss ranks as the first of the later group of important members. His main virtues were strict regularity and ability to maintain his seat in the face of recurring struggles in his district. This persistent presence combined with an interest in naval affairs and a fortunate committee assignment raised him in time to the chairmanship of that committee, then important for its part in naval rehabilitation. His speeches show a broad grasp of the intricacies of the situation. Such an interest, however, lends itself but little to the making of a spectacular record, and he must be catalogued as an earnest and industrious but not unduly brilliant member whom chance and inclination made a valuable one.

The period of greater consistency in returning delegates, beginning in the mid-nineties, produced other members meriting mention, including Madden and Sabath. The former, a wealthy stone merchant and contractor, came to congress from a period of leadership in the city council, where his activities in behalf of so-called "boodle ordinances" alleged to have conferred transit and other franchises without adequate compensation to the city, caused the Municipal Voters' League to frown upon him.[23] Once in congress, he developed wide interests, taking an important part in the debates on railroad, river and harbor and postal legislation. Usually a regular, he displayed occasional streaks of independence. After a period of general service, he concentrated his interests along fiscal and financial lines, aided in the movement for the federal budget system and as chairman of the committee on appropriations had a large hand in putting that system into operation. Called "the grimmest watchdog the treasury ever had," he rose by perseverance and ability to an important place in the financial administration of the country.[24] Sabath, the most active and valuable member on the democratic side of the delegation since the passing of Douglas, was condemned to spend much of his time in the minority where his record was characterized by faithfulness to the interests of his locality. Social legislation, tariff reform, postal savings, white slavery, all received his attention. He labored tirelessly in behalf of his major interest, the immigration question. An immigrant himself, he worked valiantly to aid his fellow-Europeans into the land of promise. No one of the wartime and postwar restrictive measures but felt the full weight of his opposition.

Two senators should be mentioned briefly. James Hamilton Lewis, beloved of the caricaturist because of his so-called "pink whiskers," his eccentric dress and extravagant diction, rode to Washington on the democratic wave of 1912, the first Chicago democrat to wear the toga since 1861. The most colorful member since Carter Harrison, fond of the spotlight and of announcing weighty principles and ponderous opinions, he furnished the paragraphers with continual material for sarcastic comment, but at the same time occupied a rather high place in the councils of the wartime democracy. Medill McCormick, wealthy ex-newspaper-

man and politician by deliberate design, boasted none of the graces of the orator and few of the arts of making friends among his colleagues, but evinced a considerable capacity for hard work and a rather broad knowledge which combined with his aggressive characteristics put him, at the end of one term in the senate, "admittedly farther along in important committee assignments and in important legislative performances than any other first term senator of our day."[25] His interests centered around financial and foreign affairs and made him champion the budget and tax reform and drew him into the fight over the Versailles treaty which created the group of "irreconcilables" which opposed and finally defeated that agreement. At his death it was said of him that his influence extended farther in the capital than that of any other senator.[26]

James R. Mann, parliamentarian, competent legislator, pugnacious opponent, keen-eyed and sharp-tongued critic and flower-culturist in his lighter moments, rounds out the group of prominent members. Blessed by a district so arranged that his only contests came in the primaries, he was elected thirteen times to the house, completing the longest service of the delegation. Little was heard from him at first but he soon became a factor to be considered in every debate. Speaker Cannon's watchdog, he became a prominent objector to proposals unacceptable to his chief and the party. He came to wield important influence in his committee on interstate and foreign commerce, where much significant legislation originated during his membership. He rose to be its chairman for a single congress before being retired to the minority by the revolt against standpattism, of which he was not the least exponent. Becoming minority leader, he came into his own during the years of republican drought. All the parliamentary stratagems concocted through a long study and apprenticeship were used to harass the majority. Mann himself, a short, stocky, bearded, beetle-browed individual variously described as resembling a school teacher and as a de luxe edition of the late John Hay, made a formidable antagonist to anyone trying to put through loose, unwise or democratic legislation. On his feet much of the time, ready to fight at the drop of an epithet, willing and eminently able as he frequently demonstrated to lead a filibuster or carry it on by himself, for six years he drove his talents against the wall of a democratic majority, an activity valuable from the party standpoint, but a distinct limit on his own potentialities. Health broken by his efforts, out of harmony with the newer element of his party because of his standpat tendencies and disappointed in his race for the speakership, he retired into a sort of emeritus position when the republicans again came into their own and ended his career as a peppery oracle delivering opinions on the questions of the day.

Description of his activities is impossible in the limits of the present space. A mere list of his doings for a single session frequently exceeded an entire page of the closely-printed *Congressional Record* index, and his interests were as wide as his knowledge, admittedly superior to that of any of his fellows. An idea of them may be obtained by statements of members of both parties. Cannon in a widely-quoted statement said of him:[27]

> Speaking with almost 40 years of service in the National House of Representatives, I think I can say, and truly say, that in all that time, during more than a generation, no man has served in this House, upon either side, who by his industry, by his intelligence, by his courage, all the while upon the firing line, has been as competent a legislator as the minority leader of the House.

Champ Clark, speaker during Mann's minority leadership and one of his closest personal friends and bitterest political enemies, described him as follows:[28]

> I used to think I was the most industrious man in the world. After I got acquainted with Col. Theodore Roosevelt I had some doubts on that subject. When I got thoroughly acquainted with Mr. Mann I knew that he outranked me and Roosevelt both in industry. The records of the Congress will show that he knows more about the business of the Congress than any other living human being . . . . The statutes of the country will show that he has amended more bills than any man who ever served in the House of Representatives.

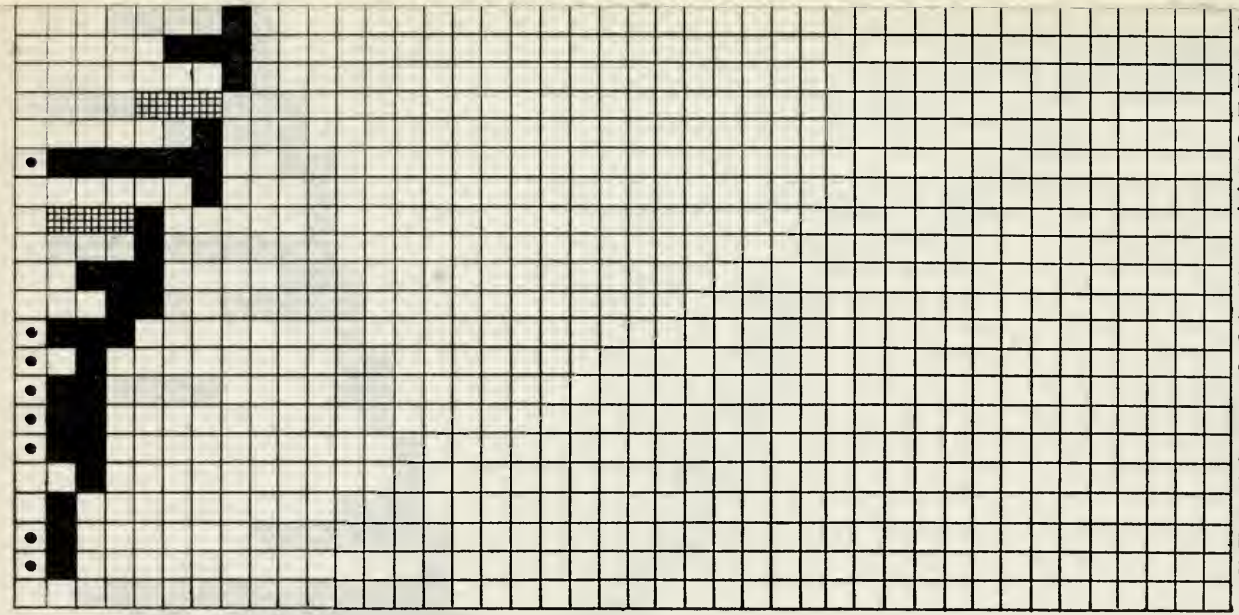
He confessed to reading practically every bill that came up, and made his own notations for use in debate—a record that few would be able to emulate if they desired.[29]

His very strength constituted an element of weakness. His encyclopedic knowledge was combined with a sort of brusque impatience in debate (seemingly foreign to his personal relations), which could ill brook the display of a lesser knowledge. He tended more and more as minority leader to take the reins into his own hands and frequently took measures away from those who had them in charge. To say this is not to argue that the measures were not better off in his care, but merely to explain a limitation on the character of the individual. The exasperated Nicholas Longworth once accused him of undertaking "not only to play Hamlet, but the fair Ophelia and the King and the Queen and the first grave digger. . . ." His pugnacity failed to endear him to his opponents and sometimes hurt his friends. The following anecdote, probably apocryphal, is illustrative. It is related that a colleague, doubtless foiled in an attempt to pass a piece of pork-barrel legislation, remarked that[30]

> When it comes time for Representative James R. Mann of Illinois to enter the kingdom of heaven he will pause at the threshold and as St. Peter swings wide the gate, he will suggest, "Reserving the right to object, I will enter and look about a little."

Such traits weakened his larger usefulness while making him superficially even more valuable to the party. Finally, he remained a standpatter when the miasma of progressivism had tarnished the aura of the hidebound regular. A Cannonite, he never quite ceased to regret the passing of the old regime, and reaped a sort of unholy satisfaction in twisting the new rules to the uses of the old. An editorial writer in the *New York Times* characterized him aptly as a[31]

> galvanic battery in trousers, pugnacious, humorous, shrewd, and slightly devilish. Mann never yielded judgment or will to any human being. He resembles Uncle Joe Cannon more than any other statesman; there is a touch of Lincoln in him, a little of John Randolph, something of Tom Reed, but he is no composite. So far is he from that that his is the most definite personality in either house of Congress . . . . His joy in a fight is only equaled by his success in it. He carries a chip on his shoulder, and while he



STACK, EDMUND J.
BUCHANAN, FRANK
EVANS, LYNDEN
LEWIS, JAS. HAMILTON
GORMAN, GEORGE E.
Britten, Fred A.
Thomson, Charles M.
McCormick, Medill
MARTIN, CHARLES
RAINEY, JOHN W.
Juul, Niels
Chindblom, Carl R.
Gorman, John J.
Michaelson, M. Alfred
KUNZ, STANLEY A.
Sproul, Elliott W.
Huck, Winnifred M.
BUCKLEY, JAMES R.
DOYLE, THOMAS A.
Hull, Morton D.

> Speaking with almost 40 years of service in the National House of Representatives, I think I can say, and truly say, that in all that time, during more than a generation, no man has served in this House, upon either side, who by his industry, by his intelligence, by his courage, all the while upon the firing line, has been as competent a legislator as the minority leader of the House.

Champ Clark, speaker during Mann's minority leadership and one of his closest personal friends and bitterest political enemies, described him as follows:[28]

> I used to think I was the most industrious man in the world. After I got acquainted with Col. Theodore Roosevelt I had some doubts on that subject. When I got thoroughly acquainted with Mr. Mann I knew that he outranked me and Roosevelt both in industry. The records of the Congress will show that he knows more about the business of the Congress than any other living human being . . . . The statutes of the country will show that he has amended more bills than any man who ever served in the House of Representatives.

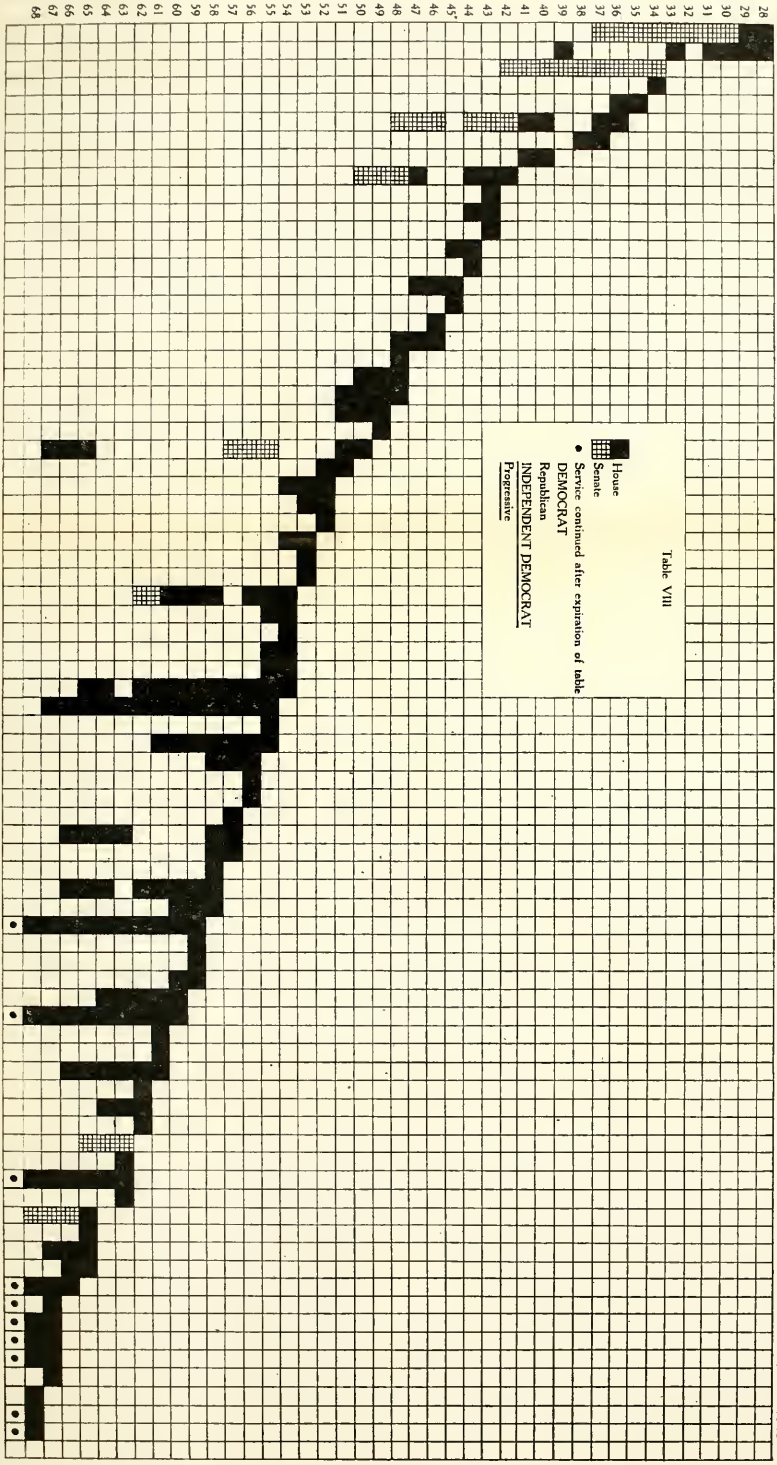
He confessed to reading practically every bill that came up, and made his own notations for use in debate—a record that few would be able to emulate if they desired.[29]

His very strength constituted an element of weakness. His encyclopedic knowledge was combined with a sort of brusque impatience in debate (seemingly foreign to his personal relations), which could ill brook the display of a lesser knowledge. He tended more and more as minority leader to take the reins into his own hands and frequently took measures away from those who had them in charge. To say this is not to argue that the measures were not better off in his care, but merely to explain a limitation on the character of the individual. The exasperated Nicholas Longworth once accused him of undertaking "not only to play Hamlet, but the fair Ophelia and the King and the Queen and the first grave digger. . . ." His pugnacity failed to endear him to his opponents and sometimes hurt his friends. The following anecdote, probably apocryphal, is illustrative. It is related that a colleague, doubtless foiled in an attempt to pass a piece of pork-barrel legislation, remarked that[30]

> When it comes time for Representative James R. Mann of Illinois to enter the kingdom of heaven he will pause at the threshold and as St. Peter swings wide the gate, he will suggest, "Reserving the right to object, I will enter and look about a little."

Such traits weakened his larger usefulness while making him superficially even more valuable to the party. Finally, he remained a standpatter when the miasma of progressivism had tarnished the aura of the hidebound regular. A Cannonite, he never quite ceased to regret the passing of the old regime, and reaped a sort of unholy satisfaction in twisting the new rules to the uses of the old. An editorial writer in the *New York Times* characterized him aptly as a[31]

> galvanic battery in trousers, pugnacious, humorous, shrewd, and slightly devilish. Mann never yielded judgment or will to any human being. He resembles Uncle Joe Cannon more than any other statesman; there is a touch of Lincoln in him, a little of John Randolph, something of Tom Reed, but he is no composite. So far is he from that that his is the most definite personality in either house of Congress . . . . His joy in a fight is only equaled by his success in it. He carries a chip on his shoulder, and while he


(Congress)
28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68
DOUGLAS, STEPHEN A.
WENTWORTH, JOHN
Trumbull, Lyman
Woodworth, Jas. H.
Farnsworth, John F.
Logan, John A.
Arnold, Isaac N.
Judd, Norman B.
Farwell, Chas. B.
Rice, John B.
CAULFIELD, BERNARD G.
Ward, Jasper D.
HARRISON, CARTER H.
Le MOYNE, JOHN V.
Aldrich, Wm.
Brentano, Lorenzo
Barber, Hiram
Davis, George R.
FINERTY, JOHN F.
Dunham, Ransom W.
Adams, George E.
LAWLER, J. FRANK
WARD, JAMES H.
Mason, Wm. E.
Taylor, Abner
McGANN, LAWRENCE E.
DURBOROW, ALLAN C.
NEWBERRY, WALTER C.
Aldrich, J. Frank
GOLDZIER, JULIUS
BLACK, JOHN C.
Lorimer, William
Belknap, Hugh R.
Woodman, Charles W.
White, George E.
Cooke, Edward D.
Foss, George E.
Mann, James R.
Mills, Daniel W.
Boutell, Henry S.
FOSTER, GEORGE P.
NOONAN, EDWARD T.
CUSACK, THOMAS
FEELY, JOHN C.
McANDREWS, JAMES
MAHONEY, WILLIAM F.
EMERICH, MARTIN
Wilson, William W.
Knopf, Philip
Madden, Martin B.
Wharton, Charles S.
Michalek, Anthony
McGavin, Charles
McDERMOTT, JAMES T.
SABATH, ADOLPH J.
Moxley, William J.
Lundin, Frederick
GALLAGHER, THOMAS
STACK, EDMUND J.
BUCHANAN, FRANK
EVANS, LYNDEN
LEWIS, JAS. HAMILTON
GORMAN, GEORGE E.
Britten, Fred A.
Thomson, Charles M.
McCormick, Medill
MARTIN, CHARLES
RAINEY, JOHN W.
Juul, Niels
Chindblom, Carl R.
Gorman, John J.
Michaelson, M. Alfred
KUNZ, STANLEY A.
Sproul, Elliott W.
Huck, Winnifred M.
BUCKLEY, JAMES R.
DOYLE, THOMAS A.
Hull, Morton D.
Table VIII
House
Senate
Service continued after expiration of table
DEMOCRAT
Republican
INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT
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is willing to have anybody knock it off he prefers to have it knocked off by a fool or a Pharisee . . . . The public welfare is his chief consideration, modified only by a prudent eye on the permanency of his Congress seat. He is willing to toss a sop to foolishness where it is necessary to the stability of his job . . . .

His career was the most diversified and one of the most able of the delegation. Kept by the limitations of his own genius from the pinnacle of statesmanship, he was nonetheless its most useful member and shares with Trumbull, of similar usefulness and somewhat wider vision, the honor of heading the group.[32]

TABLE VI

Summary Comparison of Length of Service and Breadth of Interest

	No. of Members	Average Terms Served
I—local interest predominant	29	2.39
II—combine local and national	17	5
III—national predominant	16	4.3
IV—not active enough to classify	16	1.75

The length of a congress is considered as a term, thus reckoning one senatorial tenure as three terms.

TABLE VII

Committee Chairmanships Held by the Chicago Delegation

Aldrich—joint committee on enrolled bills.
Arnold—roads and canals.
Boutell—expenditures in the navy department.
Caulfield—expenditures in the department of justice.
*Douglas—territories (in both houses).
Durborow—select committee on the world's fair.
Farwell—manufactures, expenditure of the public money.
*Foss—naval affairs.
Harrison—reform in the civil service.
Lewis—expenditures in the state department.
*Logan—revisal of unfinished business, military affairs (both houses).
*Madden—appropriations.
*Mann—interstate and foreign commerce.
Mason—manufactures.
McCormick—expenditures in the department of labor.
McGann—labor.
*Trumbull—judiciary.

CHAPTER IX—NOTES

[1] The average, using the two-year congressional term as the unit, was 2.39. See Table VI, giving length of service of the delegation, and Table VII, summarizing committee chairmanships.

[2] Eight of the thirty-three served but one term each.

[3] A possible exception is Lorimer, whose experiences following his election to the senate gave him unenviable prominence for a time.

[4] See Table VIII, showing length and continuity of service.

* Indicates important committee.

[5] Chicago had no senator during the 45th, 51st, 52d, 53d, 54th, 58th, 59th, 60th and part of the 61st congresses.

[6] A *Wentworth Scrapbook* at the Chicago Historical Society furnishes much of the material for this sketch. This it is impossible to cite more definitely, the newspaper clippings being for the most part unidentified.

[7] To L. U. Reavis, July 31, 1865. *Reavis Papers*, at the Chicago Historical Society.

[8] Descriptions by contemporaries quoted in E. E. Sparks (ed.), *Semi-Centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates in Illinois, 1858-1908* (Springfield, Ill., 1908), 20, 25.

[9] Blaine, *op. cit.*, I, 144.

[10] Rhodes, *op. cit.*, II, 84-85, quoting her letter to the *New York Independent*, May 1, 1865.

[11] The standard biography of Douglas is Allen Johnson's *Stephen A. Douglas: A Study in American Politics* (New York, 1908). The most detailed effort to prove Douglas' statesmanship consistent is that in Samuel P. Orth, *Five American Politicians* (Cleveland, 1906), 297-447.

[12] James Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution* (rev. ed., 7 vol., New York, 1891ff.), VII, 213. Schouler was a contemporary.

[13] Isaac N. Arnold, *Bar of Early Chicago and Illinois* (in speeches and pamphlets of Isaac N. Arnold, Chicago Historical Society), 20.

[14] *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 9, 1862.

[15] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1859; *Record*, 49th cong., 2d sess., 1532ff. (Palmer's remarks on p. 1544); *Obituaries* (Obituary notices clipped from newspapers, Chicago Historical Society), XI, 233ff.

[16] *Chicago Tribune*, May 4, 1876.

[17] *Record*, 44th cong., 1st sess., 501-4, 3281-82.

[18] He was fond of reciting Dante to himself as a matutinal exercise according to a member of his family, and a political opponent once said of him that he could sweat icicles in July. *Chicago Tribune*, June 13, 1890.

[19] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 20, 21, 1897.

[20] *Chicago Tribune*, July 10, 1918, June 17, 1921; *Record*, 67th cong., 2d sess., 3067-80.

[21] A comment of the *Chicago Times-Herald* gives a key to his activity and to his strength: "Lorimer is always handsome and generally dumb. He has never lost his voice when a job was to be pleaded for, but otherwise he is as eloquent as a perplexed lover about to propose. . . ." Feb. 10, 1896.

[22] Oct. 21, 1900; Oct. 18, 31, 1902; May 30, 1921.

[23] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 2, 1897.

[24] *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 6, 1912; Feb. 21, 1925.

[25] *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 4, 1924.

[26] *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 26, 1925.

[27] *Record*, 62d cong., 3d sess., 4806.

[28] *Record*, 62d cong., 3d sess., 4954.

[29] *Mann Papers*. Clipping from *Washington Herald*, July 30, 1911.

[30] *Mann Papers*. Clipping from *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 1, 1908.

[31] *New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1916.

[32] The materials for this sketch, aside from the reaction gained from following twenty-odd years of the man's career, have come from the following sources: Eulogies delivered in congress, *Record*, 67th cong., 4th sess., 1712-25; *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 31, 1912; Feb. 27, 1913; letter of Chairman Hepburn of the commerce committee in one of Mann's campaign documents, *Mann Papers;* clippings in the *Mann Papers* from the following newspapers and periodicals: *New York World*, Sept. 3, 1911; *Brooklyn Eagle*, July 2, 1911, Dec. 29, 1918; *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, June 15, 1910; *The Nation*, June 8, 1916.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

Summary statements regarding a problem such as the one under discussion are rendered difficult by the varied questions treated, the long period of time covered and the varying numbers of the group involved. There is little fundamental relationship, say, between the Kansas-Nebraska act and the federal reserve movement. The time element operated to change both the amount and nature of Chicago interest in such a problem as the currency. And when a delegation made up of two members, such as the Douglas-Wentworth combine of pre-civil-war days, gives way to ten representatives and an occasional senator after 1903 the opportunities for variation in ideas and actions are multiplied. With these limitations in mind, certain standpoints may be selected from which to view the preceding chapters in order to ascertain what, if any, have been the prevailing tendencies. They are as follows: (a) the question of unity or diversity of opinion on the specific problems investigated; (b) the partisan or non-partisan nature of discoverable divisions; (c) the matter of the usefulness of the delegation as legislators; (d) the way in which this usefulness has found expression, whether through certain individuals or through the group as a whole.

As measured by the first standard, that of diversity or unity, the delegation ranges from one extreme to the other with a prevailing tendency to diversity on national questions, giving way to a greater degree of unity as the interests of the immediate local area become involved. Indeed it seems that a direct local interest has been the only factor able to overcome the separatistic influences with any degree of consistency. Slavery pictured the Douglas-Wentworth hostility over the Wilmot proviso and popular sovereignty, to be followed by a period of unity during the civil war and in turn by a growing division over reconstruction when Trumbull, first a radical, became increasingly alienated from that cause, voted protestingly with his colleagues for a time and finally left the rest of the delegation. Both phases of the money question present a change from united support of inflationism to a definite and continuing split. The same trend is notable in connection with railroad regulation but is not so easily discoverable in the case of trust regulation. When one turns, however, to locally important problems, a high degree of unity appears. The illustrations of business regulation connected with the examination of trust regulation first indicate this. Transportation questions, also of immediate local consequence, usually commanded a united delegation, and this was equally true in the case of the various local issues touched upon.

Examination of the nature of the divisions discovered indicates the increasingly cohesive power of party governing national problems. The Douglas-Wentworth division began as an intra-party difference which became a party division when the republican party was formed largely as a result of Douglas' activities on the slavery question. After the war the money question presented a similar history of non-partisan inflationism giving way to a definite party division. The same is true of

railroad regulation: local interests tended to unite both parties at first but later legislation found the power of party strong enough to split the group. However, on approaching the local area, party divisions tend to give way to non-partisan support of local interests. This has been found to be true in the case of the regulation of business with a distinct local interest and of the strictly local problems discussed. Viewed, then, from the twin standpoint of unity and party the pattern described is one of increasingly partisan divisions on national questions combined with non-partisan unity on problems affecting the local area.

Turning to the usefulness of the delegation as legislators, the record shows that it has at times played a large part in affairs and at other times devoted itself largely to local interests, thus dividing its usefulness between the general and the particular. Douglas, Trumbull, Madden and Mann have been names to conjure with on the floor, in the committee-room and in the caucus, and these have been supported by others less in the public eye but still highly useful members. One of the weaknesses of the present study has been its inability to get back of the printed page to discover the delegation's part in the unheralded features of legislation. Nowhere is this weakness more evident or more damaging than in the present connection. It can safely be said, however, that Chicago's part in territorial, reconstruction, railroad, business and local legislation has been either determinant or highly influential. Currency, tariff and trust legislation have produced no Chicago expert of the first magnitude.

Turning to the fourth question, the manner in which the delegation's usefulness has been manifested, it is apparent that it has been the individual rather than the group who has borne the burden of the fray. Douglas and territories, Trumbull and reconstruction, Mann, Madden and railroads, Lorimer and waterways, Logan, Farwell and currency, have been names and activities largely synonymous, with other members passive or mildly active. On the more immediate interests of business regulation a tendency toward larger group participation is evident, as is the case with purely local issues. Even here, however, it will be remembered that there was a tendency to leave particular local interests largely to the offices of individuals. The tendency of the preceding chapters to group themselves around individuals has been evident and the reader may have felt that the author has been converted to the "great man" method of treatment and has given undue emphasis to personal contributions. Regardless of the merits of this technique, it has seemed the only one adapted to the present study of a group which has frequently been dominated by men of more than ordinary caliber.

Another consideration arises from this tendency to individual dominance in the delegation, namely, what made possible this importance of the individual? The first and most obvious answer is, of course, the men themselves. Innate ability, acquired political skill, the circumstances of politics and the accidents of party majorities have from time to time raised up men of unusual talents in the delegation. Another factor, however, has been important in the process. This is the frequency and continuity with which a member has been reëlected to carry

on his original committee assignments and to strengthen the threads of his interests to the point where he becomes a considerable figure in affairs. A careful study of the membership chart will indicate that it is almost invariable that he who has risen to prominence has been the one who has been returned for several terms and thus been enabled to go through the seasoning process required to transform the local politician into the national legislator and to make of that national legislator an expert along some particular line. None will ever know how many legislative lights have been hidden under the bushel of an adverse majority which has prevented the member from returning to Washington. It is, of course, equally true that some members have been returned for several terms without making any appreciable ripple in the pool of legislation. This, however, argues nothing more than that a conjunction of ability and long service furnishes the ideal combination for the attainment of legislative prominence. If the present study has any lesson for the practical politician it is in exemplifying the old maxim that practice makes perfect, and that the influence of a delegation and of a locality in the American congress varies not only with ability, but with continuity of service.

Coming at the same matter from another angle, study of the membership chart shows that Chicago was most persistently and continuously represented in the senate during the period down to the end of reconstruction. The record shows that this was also the time when the Chicago senators wielded most power. Subsequently senators were seldom or never reëlected and Chicago frequently had none. For some years no representative served for a long period. Further study indicates that during this period of senatorial vacancies and short-term representatives Chicago's prestige in national affairs suffered, the while her local interests were being well cared for. With the mid-nineties begins a reaction which secured a fairly continuous and long period of service for several individual representatives, with notable results in increased importance of Chicago in nationally important affairs. There has been, then, a sort of rhythm which has secured first a preponderance of the senatorial members of the delegation, followed by a period when neither house contained outstanding Chicagoans, followed in turn by a group of representatives who brought the city delegation back to a position of prominence in national affairs.

JOHN McLEAN AND THE COUNTY THAT BEARS HIS NAME

By Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer
Member Illinois State Senate

When John McLean came to Illinois in 1815, he arrived during the most picturesque and important period in our history. He came equipped in every way to play a leading role in the drama of our pioneer life.

Born in the slave State of North Carolina, February 4, 1791, he moved with his parents to Logan County, Kentucky, at the age of four years.

Little is known of his life in Kentucky beyond the fact that he received a limited school education and later studied law. It is presumed that his people lived the simple frugal life of the early settlers, though nothing has been found of any record nor of his own reference to his childhood and youth.

Mr. E. B. Washburne says that perhaps less is known at the present day of John McLean than any other public man of his day who occupied such a distinguished position. Indeed it is now almost impossible to gather much of his personal history.

His father, Ephriam McLean, a minister of the gospel, was a blood relation of the noted Ewing family which originated in Pennsylvania. One branch emigrated to North Carolina and another to Ohio, coming later to Illinois.

John McLean settled at Shawneetown and was at once admitted to the bar. He took his place immediately as a leader in the community and though but twenty-four years old he rose rapidly to be recognized as a dominant figure in the political life of the territory which was soon to become a state.

Southern Illinois was then the center of the State Government. Kaskaskia on the Mississippi, to the west, was the capital and at the very height of her glory. Shawneetown on the Ohio, to the east, was already an active rival settlement. Here as in all new countries the rivers formed the natural travelways.

Not only was southern Illinois the center of government but of the business and social life and culture as well. Many of the best families of Kentucky and Virginia had emigrated here and contact with the French at New Orleans gave color and energy to the general vigor of the rugged pioneer life. There was no reason to believe then that southern Illinois would not always be the center of the activities of the new State.

Illinois was admitted into the Union in 1818 and the first State Legislature met in Kaskaskia, but during the second session fate in the

form of political influence decreed that the capital should be moved from beautiful old Kaskaskia to Vandalia, which was nearer the center of the State and 100 miles to the north.

Early in 1818 John McLean was appointed as a Judge of the Eastern Circuit, but declined to serve because he had other plans and ambitions. This same year he was elected a member of Congress, the first to serve from the new State and the only one at that time for the reason that the population was so small. Mr. McLean was a Democrat and, being a pro-slavery man, he voted in Congress against the Missouri Compromise. This brought about his defeat for re-election. He was succeeded by Daniel Cook, a strong anti-slavery advocate and a man who in ability and standing was a worthy opponent of John McLean.

The year following Mr. McLean was elected a member of the State Legislature and chosen Speaker of the House. The most important subject to come before this Second Legislature was a bill providing for the incorporation of a State Bank, known as the "Wild-Cat Banking Scheme." A too abundant issue of paper currency by banks of adjoining states had brought everyone into debt. These early settlers found themselves overwhelmed in financial difficulties because they had bought land and made improvements not yet warranted by the growth and trade of the new country. The Legislature chartered the State Bank, based on State credit, to provide an escape from the distressing conditions. To such action John McLean was bitterly opposed, and when the subject was up for debate he resigned his position as Speaker of the House, took the floor, making a powerful argument against the measure, in which he predicted all the evils which ultimately developed from the operations of the State Bank. Although the measure was carried over his opposition and he lost the fight, it was his attitude on this question and his logic and eloquence on this occasion that marked him as a great statesman, according to the opinion of his contemporaries.

The slavery question, the Illinois-Michigan Waterway, and the establishment of the State Bank were the three outstanding *political* problems of that day. It may be of interest to note that for more than fifty years the question of human slavery was uppermost in the minds of the people and the controversy over the Deep Waterway between Lake Michigan and the Illinois still holds attention on the front page of the morning papers.

John McLean and Daniel Cook held many debates over the slavery question and it is to be regretted that there are no copies nor reports of these in existence. These men were well matched in intellect and powers of oratory and were thought by Mr. Orlando Ficklin, who heard them *and* the famous debates between Lincoln and Douglas many years later, to be the equal of the latter. Research has disclosed but a few old newspaper-files and these fall far short of gratifying our curiosity. There were no short-hand reporters, printing was expensive and presses scarce in those days.

Mr. McLean served with distinction in the Legislature until 1824 when he was elected to fill out the unexpired term of Ninian Edwards as United States Senator.

In 1825 when LaFayette came from France on his memorable visit to the United States, he included Kaskaskia and Shawneetown in his plan. John McLean was Chairman of the Committee to receive the distinguished guest, and was his host during his stay in Shawneetown.

In 1826 he was again sent to the Legislature from Gallatin County and again was chosen Speaker of the House.

In 1829 John McLean was elected to the United States Senate without a dissenting vote in the General Assembly. This is the only time such an honor has ever been conferred in Illinois. But he had overworked and his health began to fail. After serving through the first long strenuous session of his term, he returned home to Shawneetown where in October at the age of thirty-nine years he passed away. He lies buried two miles above the town where on a slab over his tomb has been engraved a beautiful tribute to his memory. His fellowtownsmen were always loyal and devoted to him and to the present day the people in Shawneetown hold him in grateful and appreciative veneration.

It seems strange that there is no picture of John McLean in existence but the art of photography had not been developed in his day. In the *House* and *Senate Journals* for 1820-21 we find the following references to portraits of Pierre Menard and John McLean: "The portraits of Pierre Menard and John McLean were given to the Illinois General Assembly in Vandalia, Illinois. Menard portrait to the Senate and McLean's to the House of Representatives by the following subscribers: William L. D. Ewing, Thomas A. Young, F. Hollman, Henry Eddy, Charles Dunn, William H. Brown, E. C. Berry, R. K. McLaughlin, Samuel M'Clintoc, Raphael Widen, Thos. Mather, William M. Alexander, E. K. Kane, Daniel D. Smith, William Wilson."

February 15, 1821. *Senate Journal,* p. 186. *House Journal,* p. 355. Vandalia, Illinois, 1820-21.

In the absence of any actual portrait of this distinguished man, it may be of special interest to hear the word pictures left us by his neighbors who knew him and loved him in the contact of everyday life and by some of his contemporaries and rivals in the broader affairs of State.

Ex-Governor Reynolds in his *Pioneer History of Illinois* describes him "as a man of gigantic mind, of noble and manly form and a lofty dignified bearing. His person was large, formed on that natural excellence which at once attracted the attention and admiration of all beholders. The compass of his mind was exceedingly great and his eloquence flowed in torrents deep and almost irresistible."

Governor Ford wrote of him: "John McLean possessed a fertility of genius and an overpowering eloquence."

His own townsman, Gen. John A. McClernand, in a letter to Capt. J. H. Burnham, of Bloomington, in 1898, wrote: "I often saw him in my boyhood and afterward formed an acquaintance with him. Socially he was affable and genial, his conversation sparkled with wit and humor. He married an educated and accomplished young lady in Kentucky a short time before his death" (this is the only reference that has been seen to his marriage or to his having a family). Continuing, General

McClernand says, "As a lawyer he was both analytic and logical, combining argument with extraordinary eloquence. He was persuasive with the Judge and well-nigh resistless with the Jury. Mr. McLean was an actor on the public stage of Illinois for fifteen years. He led a political movement which on the wider stage of the Nation resulted in the reorganization of political parties and the election of General Jackson to the Presidency." Mr. McLean served under General Jackson's command in several skirmishes during the Indian Wars and became his great admirer and enthusiastic follower.

A letter from another neighbor in Shawneetown tells of some of his customs and habits. When over-tired or depressed he would frequently go to log-rollings, corn-huskings, house-raisings and country frolics, often making a full hand at any of them. He could beat all comers at running, jumping and lifting, and for all this and the character and genius of the man the people almost worshipped him. Continuing, Mr. John Eddy adds, "that at home he was an entirely different man. There he was the personification of dignity and courtesy, rarely unbending a perfect Chesterfield in courtly manner to all."

His was an interesting character, this whole-souled enjoyment in the intimate contact with his homely pioneer surroundings, was in marked contrast to his courtly and somewhat severe bearing as a member of the United States Senate. According to all accounts John McLean appears to have been the most popular and gifted man in Illinois in his day.

John McLean never set foot on the ground that today we know as McLean County. How then did it come to pass that the name of this man should be forever linked with the great county that bears his name? It so happened that in 1830 a committee consisting of Thomas Orendorff and James Latta, representing the pioneer settlers of Blooming-Grove Precinct, then a part of Tazewell County, journeyed to the Capitol at Vandalia. They bore a petition signed by almost every inhabitant of the precinct requesting the Legislature to create a new county. This was obtained with little difficulty and no opposition. When Mr. William Ewing, Speaker of the House, inquired what name they wished the new county to bear, the committee hesitated and having no definite suggestion to make, Mr. Ewing proposed that of McLean in honor of his devoted friend and kinsman. John McLean died in October and two months later, on Christmas Day, 1830, the new county was officially created.

So much for the name. Now why are we celebrating this event and why has this subject a place on today's program? Because this year marks the one hundredth anniversary of the death of John McLean, a beloved son of Illinois, and the one hundredth birthday of the county that bears his name.

The organization of Cook County followed in 1831, it being named for Daniel Cook, the political rival of John McLean. Mr. Cook had also died at an early age in 1827. It is a coincidence that these two political rivals should be memorialized in the naming of these two counties, since one is the most important in the State in point of wealth

and population and the other most important in point of size and agricultural interests. The interests of the two counties today are different as were the ideas of the two men one hundred years ago.

McLean County is situated a short distance north of the center of the State and at a point where a line drawn from Rockford to Cairo crosses another running between Chicago and St. Louis. Before its organization in 1830, the territory was Orendorff Precinct of Tazewell County and for a few years following it included a part of what is now Livingston, DeWitt and Woodford Counties and land as far north as the Wisconsin line. Today its area is 741,568 acres, still the largest in the State. The soil is rich and fertile and the county lies in the very heart of the Corn Belt.

There were Indians in large numbers to greet the first white settlers—Kickapoos, Pottawatomies and a scattered band of Delawares—but being kindly treated by the whites they were generally as friendly to the new-comers as the pioneers were generous to them. It has been said that no white person was ever killed by the Indians within the borders of McLean County. However this may be, there were two enemies always lurking in the near vicinity of every pioneer settlement—the prairie fire which too often came rolling across the country sweeping everything before it, and the other the deadly malarial fever germ that approached more silently but was none the less feared and dreaded.

It is not known that any important Indian wars were fought here and before the year 1832, about the time of the Black-Hawk War, the last Indians had removed from the county, though they did return occasionally for a friendly visit.

There is evidence that the Indians had roamed freely over the prairies as is noted by the fact that the Boy Scouts are still finding Indian arrow-heads along the streams and among the hills. Strange to relate, but one Indian name was ever given to a stream and none to any town or village, that of Kickapoo Creek being the only exception. This stream flows through the county in a southeasterly direction. As a rule the names of the early pioneers were given to the many streams and villages that began to spring into existence.

The first settlement within the county was called Blooming-Grove, because when the settlers came to the new country they beheld it a mass of blooming flowers gay and brilliant against the waving grass. Then, as today, it was a glorious sight to look across the miles of gently rolling prairie dotted here and there with groves of native timber along the many winding streams.

The same act that provided for the creating of the county also provided that the county seat should be located on land owned and donated by James Allin, chief promoter of the county movement, and the new place should be named Bloomington, an adaptation of Blooming-Grove.

The first County Government was by three commissioners and not until 1857 was the Township plan adopted with its Board of Supervisors, one member elected from each township.

Now let us consider for a few moment how this County of McLean has differed in its development and activities from the other 101 counties in Illinois and what has given it an individuality all its own.

Soon after the organization of the county and the disappearance of the Indians the new settlers began to arrive in considerable numbers. They came in covered wagons and they came to establish permanent homes to rear their children and to build a community. They came many of them from eastern states where schools already had been established and it was quite natural that when their cabins and churches were built that they turned their attention to establishing schools, that their children might enjoy here the educational opportunities which had been left behind in the home States.

There was no dependable water supply in McLean County and consequently the early industries of the State were established in other centers. Knowing and understanding this fact it was natural for the people to look about in other fields for opportunities to promote their development and soon they began an agitation which culminated in the building by the State of a Normal School for the training of teachers. This was accomplished in 1857 with the location in North Bloomington (now Normal) of the first Normal School west of the Alleghany Mountains. The minds of the citizens were made ready for the proper appreciation and use of such an institution by Jesse Fell and other men and women who themselves formed a highly educated and cultured group.

The contributions of McLean County citizens for this project amounted to $141,000.00, a large sum to be subscribed in those early days for the purpose of higher education.

The establishment of the Illinois Wesleyan University was also accomplished through the untiring efforts of the citizens of the county who in 1850 raised $70.000.00 which they contributed for the building, to prove their earnest faith and emphasize their determination that Bloomington should become a real center for learning and culture.

The building of an unusual number of lovely homes, beautiful churches, excellent schools and public parks and the erection and maintenance of three of the finest and largest hospitals down-state have been among the outstanding achievements of the people. Appreciation of good music has been fostered. Bloomington has become known as a music-center for students and teachers, and an Amateur Club with some 1.800 members makes possible a musical atmosphere found in no other Mid-West city of its size.

The absence of the many great industrial concerns which other localities have been permitted to enjoy has been in a measure compensated for by the influence which the educational institutions and organizations have fostered in the lives of the people since an early day.

Through the years hundreds of families have come into the community seeking and finding here the best advantages in schooling, and a social life that is simple and sincere as it is cultured and refined.

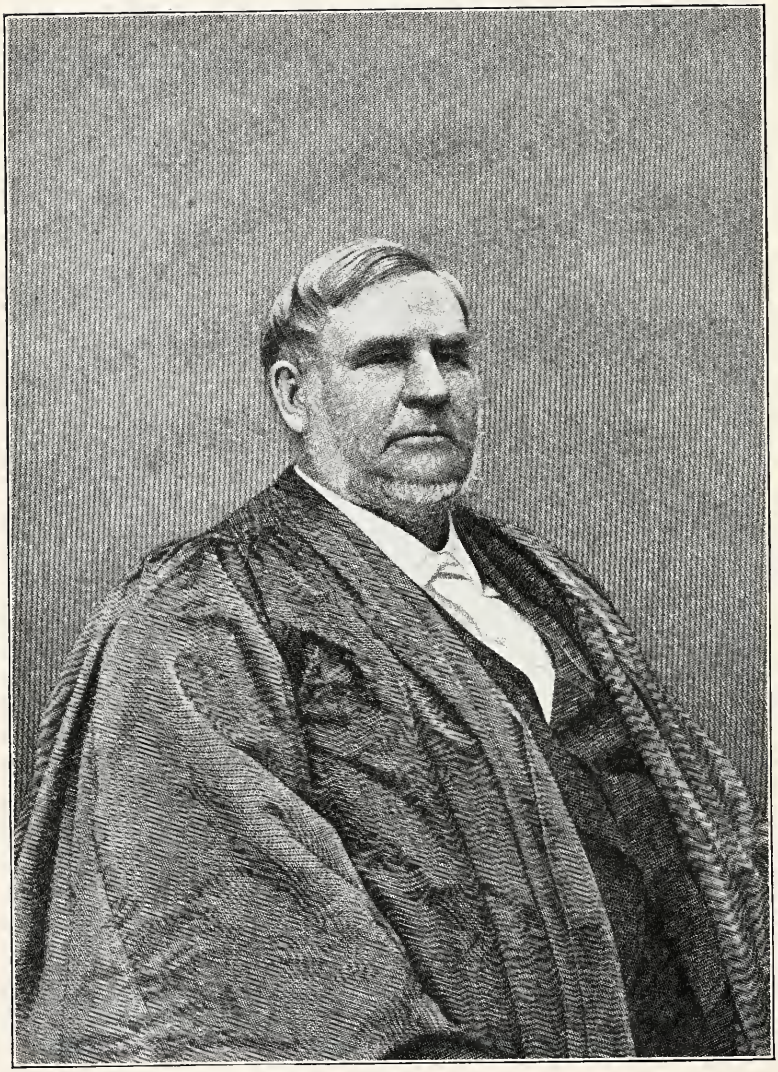
Many have come and remained and many have gone out into the larger field of affairs where they have sought and won recognition and leadership in the State and Nation. Educators, writers, painters, musicians, lawyers, statesmen and business men. Among her native sons and daughters are the names of Melville Stone, Elbert Hubbard, James

Harvey Robinson, Edmund James, Walter Dill Scott, distinguished writers and educators; David Davis, Leonard Swett, Gen. W. W. Orme, Adlai Stevenson, James Ewing, Lawrence Weldon, Joseph W. Fifer and John Hamilton, all noted lawyers; Rachel C. Crothers, Minnie Saltzman Stevens, Margaret Illington, Marie Litta, Sid Smith of Andy Gump fame, Pawnee Bill, and the man who threw the first "Curved Ball," and revolutionized the game of baseball.

Bloomington was on the old Eighth Judicial Circuit, and so it came about quite naturally that Abraham Lincoln in his earlier years of practice found intimate contacts and friendships here among the lawyers who were quick to recognize his powers, and in whom he felt a warm appreciation and encouragement for his ideas and ambitions. It was here with these lawyers that he loved to linger for a few days after court adjourned, and with his good friends Jesse Fell (for whom he wrote his biography), David Davis and Gen. Gridley.

It was here among his chosen friends that he sought relaxation and inspiration for the days of trial and the gigantic tasks that were awaiting him. It was here in 1856 that the great convention was held which gave birth to the Republican Party, at which time Lincoln delivered his famous Lost Speech. It was so called because by his stirring eloquence and power he swayed his listeners to such heights that even the reporters dropped their pencils and sat in silent adoration. When the end came it was realized that no one had written one word of that matchless speech. No one was able afterward to reproduce enough of it to be acceptable to those who listened that day to the thrilling fire and spirit of his message.

Let us imagine for the moment what would be the feeling of John McLean if he could walk today among the people of this county that bears his name. He would of course be moved by the outward changes which the new industrial and economic order has wrought, the automobile, air-ship, the fine roads and splendid institutions. But beneath the surface changes he *might* recognize in the lives and thoughts of the people of McLean County many of the same ideals and aspirations for which he labored and sacrificed in those pioneer days of one hundred years ago.



JUDGE DAVID DAVIS.

DAVID DAVIS 1815–1886

By Harry Edward Pratt*
University of Illinois

I

In his "Life on the Circuit With Lincoln," Henry C. Whitney closed a twelve page discussion of Judge David Davis with the remark: "his name occupies but a few inches in local, and none in general history." Whether it be true or not David Davis was a man who held consecutively for thirty-five years state and national offices, built up a fortune through foresight in land dealing, a likely candidate himself for president in 1872, and most important of all played a leading part in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

David Davis was born at The Rounds, Sassafras Neck, Cecil County, Maryland on the ninth of March 1815. His father, Dr. David Davis (1780-1814) of Welsh ancestry attended the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania[1] in 1809-10 and then settled in Cecil County to practice. Here, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland he met and married Ann Mercer (1796-1851). John Mercer, her father, a wealthy plantation owner, lived at "The Rounds," and sent his two daughters to Linden Hall School, Lititz, Pennsylvania.[2] His son, William D. Mercer (1798-1844), after the death of his father in 1820 became the guardian of five year old David and sent him to Newark Academy in Delaware for a classical education.

In 1828 David entered Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. This "Garden of the Lord" of the Episcopalians under the guidance of Bishop Philander Chase was just taking on the appearance of a college. Re-

VITA

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Teacher of History, 1923-1924, in John Hancock High School of Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. Director of Student Enterprises, 1924-1926, in Moraine Park School, Dayton, Ohio. Senior Master and Teacher of History, 1926-1928, in Valley Ranch School, Valley, Wyoming, and is at present Dean of Blackburn College, Carlinville, Illinois.

[1] Record of the Medical School, Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia.
[2] Record of Linden Hall School, Lititz, Penn.

ligion and the low cost of an education attracted students from all states outside of New England.[3] As in a monastery students and faculty ate, slept, worked and studied together. Young Davis worked on the buildings at the rate of ten dollars a month, bought extras at the college store, joined the Phi Phi Alpha literary society, and spoke at an "exhibition" on the "Abuse of Talent." He chose the subject of "Funeral and Sepulchral Honors" for his commencement oration, and filled it with big words and flowery phrases.[4]

Following graduation in September 1832, he entered the law office of Henry W. Bishop in Lenox, Massachusetts. It was cheaper to study law in the East and Mr. Bishop was a friend of the family. For the next two years Davis earned his way as a clerk and read the law. Here he met Sarah Woodruff Walker (1814-1879) who was to become his wife in 1838.[5] In the fall of 1835, following a year of attending lectures in the law school at New Haven, he headed west and finally opened an office in Pekin, Illinois, a bustling little village on the Illinois river. In an advertisement in the *Sangamo Journal*, February 8, 1836 the young attorney said that he would "attend to any business of his profession in the courts of McLean, Tazewell, Fulton, Peoria and Putnam counties" and would also practice in the Supreme Court of the State. His name appears on the Roll of Attorneys for January 7, 1836 more than a year before Abraham Lincoln was enrolled.

Jesse W. Fell of Bloomington met Davis in Pekin in 1835 and described him as a "large, robust, boyish-looking, fresh-faced young man, a little inclined to corpulency, but showing no indication of the great size to which in later years he was to attain."[6] A client appeared and Davis made preparations to win the case in court. The bondsmen of an administrator had petitioned for his removal on serious charges. Davis was employed to resist the application while John T. Stuart was engaged to prosecute it. Ignorant of how to present his side of the case Davis called on Stuart for help. Fifty years later Davis said: "Although I failed and was greatly discouraged, yet his sympathetic manner and kind words stimulated me to further effort."[7]

An Illinois river town in the thirties was not a healthful place. A serious attack of malaria fever combined with Jesse W. Fell's desire to sell his law business was enough to induce the young lawyer to move to Bloomington. Sickness had depleted his cash reserve until he ar-

[3] B. C. Steiner, *The Life of Henry Winter Davis*, 20, "My whole bill with Mr. Wing the treasurer, amounts to $88, that is, $30 for tuition, $50 for board and for the attendance of the college physician during the term, $6 for room rent. Washing was $6 per annum."

[4] George F. Smythe, *History of Kenyon College*, 71, 78, 81; George F. Smythe to the writer, Mar. 12, 1930 gives the details of Davis's Kenyon days. The original draft of his commencement oration is preserved by his grandson David Davis III, Bloomington, Illinois.

[5] James B. R. Walker, *The Walkers of the Old Colony*, 117-305; Francis W. Rockwell, *The Rockwell Family*, 149-160. These two books contain the Walker genealogy and facts on the wedding of David Davis, in Lenox, Mass. on October 30, 1838.

[6] *Bloomington Pantagraph*, June 29, 1886. Statement of Jesse W. Fell.

[7] *Chicago Times*, Mar. 20, 1880.

rived as he said, "with two bits."[8] Bloomington in November 1836 had about five hundred inhabitants, two meeting houses, two steam saw mills, a log jail with one tenant, seven stores, two taverns and two grog shops.[9] Illinois was in the midst of the town building craze, and the necessary qualifications of a prosperous town could hardly be found in Bloomington, with barely enough timber for fuel, no stone, no coal, no navigation, and worse than all, no water to depend on for ordinary drinking purposes.[10]

A month after Davis's arrival occurred the "sudden change," that freak of weather so famous in Illinois history. The financial crash had arrived to be followed by the general smash in 1837.

Davis liked Bloomington, and wrote his friend Wells Colton of Lenox, Massachusetts to come and join him. The firm name of Davis and Colton soon appeared before the small office on Main street a block south of the court house square. "Wells Colton was a man of education and fine legal attainments; industrious in his office, and ready in practice; a better advocate than Davis; serious and taciturn in his disposition, but withal something of a wag."[11] He remained Davis's partner until 1844 when he moved to St. Louis.

The firm of Davis and Colton was a strong one. The panic which ruined practically all the business firms in McLean County was a stroke of fortune for the law firm. Davis had been in poor health and that, probably, and his natural conservatism, kept him out of the speculation. The merchants in Illinois bought and sold their goods on a year's credit, obtaining most of their goods in Philadelphia and New York. When the panic occurred these wholesale merchants wanted their money, but there was no money in the West for them. Their creditors offered them real estate, but they refused to take it at any price. Davis and Colton specialized in collecting and thus had an excellent opportunity to acquire real estate at their own price. Davis's wife had inherited some money and this with good credit in the East enabled him to become a considerable land owner. Jesse W. Fell was caught in the panic and mortgaged eighty acres in Chicago. He was unable to raise the mortgage and it went to Davis & Colton who held it while it rapidly increased in value.[12] This purchase may be called the beginning of "Squire" Davis's large land holdings. During the remainder of his life he bought and sold tens of thousands of acres in Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, New York and Maryland.

In 1848 Davis entered into a life-long partnership with Clifton H. Moore of Clinton, Illinois. Both men had foresight possessed by few,

[8] Mrs. Fannie Betts Mitchel, niece of David Davis, to the writer, Feb. 1930.

[9] Samuel Hays to his sister, Bloomington, Ill., Aug., 1837. MS McLean Co. Hist. Soc.

[10] J. H. Burnham, *History of Bloomington and Normal*, 35. The first brick Court House built at a cost of $8,500, was erected in 1836. It was a famous building, and was used until 1868. Here Davis and Lincoln practiced law, and Davis held court as circuit judge.

[11] Transactions McLean Co. Hist. Soc., I, 379.

[12] E. M. Prince to Misses Fell, Bloomington, Ill., July 27, 1908, Fell MSS. Ill. Hist. Survey.

and a faith in Illinois land as the best form of investment. Land was leased free for a year for the breaking and the planting of the hedges. A fairly accurate estimate of his partnership lands with Moore for 1865, shows Davis's holdings as slightly over 14,000 acres of land in Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri.[13] His land holdings handled by his son George Perrin Davis (1842-1917) were slightly larger than those in partnership, thus enabling an approximation of his entire holdings.

"The law is not profitable," remarked Davis in 1844, so "Robinson and I are in the merchandise business together, believe we will succeed."[14] The firm known as Jas. H. Robinson & Co. opened for business in a "brick front" store across the corner from Davis's law office. As silent partner, Davis remained a member of the firm for ten years.[15] Had he chosen finance as his life vocation, it is safe to assume that Davis would have made an enviable record. In addition to managing his own investments with consummate skill, he gave sound advice to the National Bank of Bloomington. During the Panic of 1873 he wrote to a friend: "So certain was I that this crash was impending that I have been steadily from the first of Jany paying my debts—and I was so fortunate as to impress my views on the National Bank here (in which I am a stockholder) that the bank never was in a better position to ride out the storm."[16]

As a large landowner, Davis was interested in civic projects. His friend Jesse W. Fell repeatedly called on him for donations of money and land. His largest donations were forty acres for the Illinois State Normal University and eighty acres which enabled Normal, Illinois to secure the Soldiers Orphans Home. He made one of his few speeches in public when the news of the Chicago fire reached Bloomington in 1871. Starting with the announcement of his own one thousand dollar donation to aid the sufferers, the enthusiasm mounted and a total of fifteen thousand dollars in cash was raised.[17]

II

In politics, David Davis was a thorough-going Whig of the old school. Henry Clay was his model statesman. A United States

[13] C. H. Moore kept copies of all business letters. I have examined 36 volumes of these copy books, in the office of his grandson, Clifton Moore Warner, Clinton, Ill. from which the above summaries are derived.

[14] Davis to Wm. P. Walker, Dec. 31, 1844. Davis MSS. Walker was Davis's father-in-law. In May the same year Davis wrote: "the law does not pay as well as in 1835." Davis MSS.

[15] Jas. H. Robinson (1808-1874) was a descendant in the 8th generation from the Rev. John Robinson of Leyden, the pastor and leader of the Pilgrims during their stay in Holland. He had eight children. One son was James Harvey Robinson, eminent historian and author, *Mind in the Making*, and *The Development of Modern Europe*. Another son was Benjamin Lincoln Robinson, appointed in 1900 to Asa Gray Professorship of Systematic Botany at Harvard University, and also author and editor of many works on botany.

[16] Davis to Thomas Drummond, Sept. 29, 1873. Drummond MSS. In his will, Davis stated that executors were not to sell or encumber the $40,000 stock in the First National Bank.

[17] *Bloomington Pantagraph*, Oct. 11, 1871.

National Bank, protective tariff, and vast internal improvements, such were the measures he upheld with great tenacity.

The state legislature in 1839 was scheduled to elect a state's attorney for the eighth judicial district. Davis was put forward by his friends as the Whig nominee against David B. Campbell, a noted fiddler and Democrat. The Democrats had controlled the state since its birth. They were to remain in power for another half a generation. Campbell was elected by a vote of 61 to 58.[18]

The young lawyer continued to rise in public esteem and set out (in 1840) to capture a seat in the upper house of the legislature. His opponent was the versatile John Moore, portly, red-faced, sandy haired, honest, plain, blunt, direct in speech and action; and a member of the lower house during the last four years. Both candidates rode horseback over the four counties in the district and on one occasion came into the same vicinity at the same time. A death had occurred at a cabin nearby, and, no one in the neighborhood being able to make a coffin, Moore promptly volunteered, and, having constructed a neat casket out of some walnut boards, attended the funeral. Finding no minister present he took charge of the services, and concluded by offering up a fervent prayer at the grave. Davis had enviously looked on as an ordinary mourner. Telling the story to his friends, Davis predicted defeat at the polls, whereupon his friends urged him to beat Moore at his own game. "Gentlemen" he replied despairingly, "I'm willing to do anything in reason; anything in reason, but I can't pray: I can't pray a d—d bit." His foreboding was realized, for Moore was elected;[19] served his two years in the senate with credit, and then was immediately elected lieutenant-governor.

Davis's first legislative experience came in 1844, when he was elected to the Fourteenth General Assembly. He was placed on the unimportant committee on Education. Retrenchment, repeal of the Nauvoo City Charter, the Illinois-Michigan Canal, and the judiciary were the foremost topics of debate and legislation. The Whigs made a strong but unsuccessful attempt to restore the judiciary to a circuit court system. Resolutions were passed calling on the Supreme Court judges to remit one fourth of their salary or resign.[20] Other resolutions of equal value: "that the embarrassment and distress of the country is brought upon the people by exhorbitant and extravagant doctor bills." Davis voted against bills intending to change the county boundary lines; and in the affirmative on bills cutting down appropriations for expenses of running the state government. After the close of the three months meeting, his views probably coincided with those of James Shields:

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[18] *House Journal*, 1838-40. Three men who were important in Davis's later life were members of the Eleventh General Assembly; Abraham Lincoln, Orville H. Browning and John A. Logan. Lincoln and Browning voted for Davis

[19] T. C. Pease, *Election Returns 1818-1848*. Total vote in the district was 2,500. Davis's total vote was 1165; Moore's 1335. Davis carried McLean County 656-590.

[20] *House Journal 1844-45*. Feb. 10, 1845.

"There never was a legislature in this State so little governed by sound policy."

Though refusing to stand for another term, he was anxious to become a delegate to the approaching constitutional convention. The judiciary had become a football for the Democratic legislature to kick around.[21] Both parties took up the cudgels for a new constitution. Unopposed in the election, Davis went to Springfield in June 1847 with high hopes of improving the basis of the state government. The whig slogan was "economy, retrenchment and reform." His primary interest being the judiciary, Davis offered a resolution, that "A Supreme Court, composed of three members, having appellate jurisdiction only, to be chosen in separate districts by the qualified voters thereof, for nine years, one to be selected every third year; after the expiration of three terms under such classification, their term to be nine years. . . . The state to be divided into blank circuits—judges in each circuit elected by people, for six years. Salary $1,000." These suggestions were the basis of the reorganization of the judiciary department.[22] He took no part in the heated debate over the prohibition of the immigration of free negroes into the state, not wishing to engraft anything into the constitution that would offend any portion of the state, or endanger the vote for adoption.

III

After his arrival in Bloomington Davis had not found law business enough and took up "circuit riding." This was customary for all lawyers in central Illinois including the capital city of Springfield. He went the rounds of the county seats of the Eighth Judicial District, which was destined to become famous as time and tradition wove around it the mythical Abraham Lincoln. Traveling on horseback, Lincoln and Davis came to know personally more men, women and children, than any dozen men combined. With Stephen T. Logan, John T. Stuart and E. D. Baker they composed the "big five" of the horseback circuit, that was always on hand at the Postville court in Logan County, attending to the legal business of the county before the fifties.[23] Davis's letters show he attended court in Vermilion, Macon and Moultrie counties, and Judge Caton stated: "It was at the Putnam Circuit Court (Hennepin) that I first met Judge David Davis."[24] There were few cases in the courts that required an extraordinary amount of learning. "Good sound common sense, the gift of speech, a mixture of natural shrewdness with politics, and a regular attendance upon the courts in the circuit, were the principles requisite for success." In 1844 Davis wrote to his brother-in-law: "There is some fun, and a good deal of excitement in practising law in this *prairie* state, but not much profit or personal comfort. We have been deluged by rain this spring. The windows of Heaven are certainly open. Bad roads, broken bridges,

[21] O. A. Harker, *Proceedings of Ill. State Hist. Soc.* 1909.

[22] A. C. Cole, *The Constitutional Debates of 1847*, 82-83. Compare with Article V of the Constitution of 1848.

[23] L. B. Stringer, *History of Logan County*, Illinois, 314-5, 318.

[24] John Dean Caton, *Early Bench and Bar of Illinois*, 225.

swimming of horses, and constant wettings, are the main incidents in western travel. Politics rage now hereabouts, as they usually do preceding a Presidential election. The first day of every court is occupied in political speaking, usually by an Elector on each side of politics, each person generally taking some three or four hours."[25] "Lincoln is a Whig elector. Lincoln is the best stump speaker in the State. Shows the want of early education, but has great powers as a speaker. He worked on a farm at $8 a month to the age of twenty-two."[26]

There is no record of Davis appearing on either side of a case in the Supreme Court of Illinois. He did practice in the United States Circuit Court at Springfield, being present at its first meeting in June, 1839. No record of his work there can be given as the records were taken to Chicago in 1855 and were destroyed in the "great fire of 1871."

The Constitution of 1848, which he had helped to formulate, divided the State into nine judicial circuits, in each of which a judge was to be elected in September, 1848. "I will like the position as Judge, the salary is not the attraction,"[27] commented Davis, a statement he could make with all sincerity, as one thousand dollars a year for six months' work and travel to frontier county seats, paying his own expenses, could not be called a sinecure. The Eighth Circuit was composed of fourteen counties, McLean, Logan, Tazewell, DeWitt, Vermilion, Champaign, Woodford, Sangamon, Christian, Macon, Moultrie, Edgar, Shelby, and Piatt; and its dimensions were at least a hundred and ten by a hundred and forty miles.[28] Today there are eighteen judges doing duty in the district covered by one justice in the early fifties. Elected without opposition, Davis for the remainder of his life was known as "The Judge." The five hundred mile journey to the fourteen county seats took about three months in the spring and three more for the second term in the fall. The day of horseback traveling for Davis was over, he had grown very heavy and a two horse buggy was needed.

The clearness and quickness of his intellect, his preparatory education and his practice had fully equipped Judge Davis to discharge the various duties of his position. His view of justice he expressed to a friend: "If any wanton attack is made on them then they should have a fair defense, nothing more. They are in common with the rest of mankind entitled to justice, not to generosity."[29]

Henry C. Whitney came to Urbana in 1854 and practised law there and in other circuit towns. "Judge Davis," he said, "of our circuit, was on first acquaintance, one of the most genial and companionable men I

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[25] Davis to Julius Rockwell, May 14, 1844, Rockwell MSS.

[26] Davis to Wm. P. Walker, Decatur, Ill., May 4, 1844, Davis MSS.

[27] Davis to Wm. P. Walker, Paris, Ill., May 16, 1848, Davis MSS.

[28] *Illinois Session Laws*, 1847, p. 31. The same counties were included in the act of Jan. 20, 1849. *Illinois Session Laws*, 1849, p. 60. On Feb. 3, 1853 it was reduced to Sangamon, Logan, Tazewell, McLean, DeWitt, Woodford, Champaign and Vermilion counties. *Ill. Session Laws*, 1853, p. 63. In 1857 it was further reduced to Logan, Champaign, DeWitt, McLean and Vermilion counties. *Ill. Session Laws*, 1857, p. 12. The final change during Davis's judgeship left only McLean, Logan and DeWitt counties in the Eighth Circuit. *Ill. Session Laws*, 1861, p. 100.

[29] Davis to Wm. W. Orme, St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 19, 1861, Orme MSS.

ever knew. He had a large and active brain, and an immense fund of hard, practical common sense. . . . He had not great erudition, and no brilliancy; he did not know, or care for, the philosophy of the law, but he was the incarnation of common sense and sterling judgment."[30] The preservation of estates and the protection of infants against the incompetency or dishonesty of guardians and the rapacity of unscrupulous speculators was one of his peculiar traits as a circuit judge.

"He seemed," said Gustave Koerner, "to look through a case at once and to seize the main points. Brushing away all technicalities and sometimes even the law, he seldom failed to do equity. . . . . He reminded me of some physicians whom I have known, who, not very eminent in the theory of their profession, hardly ever failed in their diagnosis of the patient's disease, and were in consequence quite successful."[31]

On one occasion at the Champaign County court he absent-mindedly sentenced a youth to a period of seven years in the legislature of the State of Illinois. It was not until Ward H. Lamon, the prosecuting attorney, had gone to the Judge and whispered in his ear that he discovered his mistake, and substituted the penitentiary for the legislature of the state.

Young attorneys and strangers who struck his fancy were sedulously aided in all ways, though Whitney avers never in a "pecuniary outlay." In the Danville court a young lawyer wrote a plea improperly and Usher F. Linder demurred. The judge gave suggestions on how it should be changed; the young man failing the second time, the Judge took it and amended it to suit himself. Linder could demur no more, but was very angry. That night he called at the Judge's room and found him alone and writing. "Come in, Linder," said the Judge, "Come in." "Oh, no," said Linder, "I see you are writing pleas in some of your numerous cases; I will not disturb you."[32] The Judge was earnest and solicitous to promote the welfare of his friends; but he was a good hater, and more than willing to let the object know and understand. From the young men in whom he took an interest, he expected appreciation for his kindness.

The court room was generally crowded. To go to court and listen to the witnesses and lawyers was among the chief amusements of the frontier settlements. The court room answered for the theater, concert hall, church and opera house. The judge and the lawyers were the stars; and wit and humor, pathos and eloquence, always had appreciative audiences. County seat newspapers chided Davis for his "physical enormity," and the dullness of the court with a "dog-suit, a wood-stealing Irishman, a half-crazy horse thief, and other small business."[33]

The circuit court was authorized to hear civil and criminal cases and act as an appellate tribunal for minor cases decided by the justices of the peace. Acting in the latter capacity in Bloomington, it took up

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[30] H. C. Whitney, *Life on the Circuit With Lincoln*, 55.
[31] Gustave Koerner, *Memoirs*, II, 539.
[32] L. Swett, *Proc. Ill. State Bar Assoc.*, 1887, 76-77.
[33] *Our Constitution*, Urbana, Ill., Apr. 18, 1857.

a case appealed from Mackinaw. "If such affairs," warned the *Pantagraph,* "are meat fit for the circuit court, then little boys had better beware how they indulge in 'nose drop' or 'heads or tails.' The jury went out at a late hour and it is hoped they had the good sense to go home."[34]

The Eighth Circuit attracted a high class of legal talent. Judge Stephen T. Logan, was, "take him all in all, the best *nisi prius* lawyer in the state, and it would be difficult to find his equal anywhere." Clifton H. Moore of Clinton and Oliver L. Davis of Danville were called upon by the judge to help him out when stuck on a point of law. The courts at Danville and Paris along the Indiana border attracted many lawyers from Lafayette, Covington and Terre Haute, though they came mainly on a "lark" rather than on business.

The center of attraction was Abraham Lincoln. He had travelled the Eighth Circuit since its formation in 1839. Lincoln and Davis had met in 1836 in Vandalia, then the state capital, where they were introduced by John T. Stuart, who became Lincoln's law partner the next year. Their friendship continued through to the President's death. Why these two men should be attracted to each other is one of the extraordinary factors in the career of both. It would be difficult to conceive of a greater contrast. Lincoln was tall, gaunt, and dark with dangling arms, large feet and hands trained to toil. Davis was light haired and fair, five inches shorter and massive in build, weighing well over a hundred pounds more than Lincoln, but with small hands and feet. They were the carelessly dressed and the stylishly attired; the college trained lawyer, and the stranger to schools, struggling to gain a legal education. The one with limited means and no faculty of making money; the other acquisitive, with the foresight and financial backing to satisfy his talent. The judge was of a decisive nature; the President bilious, morose, of phlegmatic mind and body; the former holding tenaciously to his views, the latter more yielding and politic. There were certain common traits: both were genial, ambitious, frugal, liking, and liked by their fellow men. The circuit life was the most enjoyable period in the life of each.

Unlike the other lawyers on the circuit Lincoln did not return to Springfield to spend Sunday with his family. The judge attributed this to an unpleasant home life; and explained Lincoln's hilarity upon the same grounds.[35] There is plenty of evidence that Davis admired Lincoln and had a good opinion of his ability as a lawyer. "He could hardly be called very learned in the profession," said Davis, "and yet he rarely tried a case without fully understanding the law applicable to it."[36] Good friends, though they were, Davis disclaimed any knowledge of Lincoln's views on religion; and never visited in the Lincoln home. The ability of Lincoln to resolve his case into simple statements to the court or the jury suited the judge, who often stopped him and said: "If that is the case, we will hear the other side." Fond of humor in the courtroom as elsewhere, Davis thoroughly enjoyed Lincoln's never-failing

[34] *Bloomington Pantagraph,* Dec. 28, 1859.
[35] Jesse W. Weik, *The Real Lincoln,* 90.
[36] *Ibid.,* 121, 129.

anecdote or comment. It was before Davis that Lincoln brought his suit against the Illinois Central Railroad Company for a five thousand dollar fee, the largest fee he is known to have presented to any client. There is not evidence to support the contention of various writers that Davis favored Lincoln in the courtroom.[37]

A survey of the cases before the Supreme Court of Illinois, shows that sixty-one cases were taken on appeal or writ of error from Judge Davis's circuit from 1849-1859. His decisions were upheld in thirty-three cases and reversed in twenty-eight.

IV

The nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency of the United States by the National Republican Convention on Friday May 18, 1860, "continues to be a mystery to the layman and a perplexity to the learned."[38] Solutions are many, and as varied as innumerable. A group of lawyers from the Eighth Circuit worked hard during the convention to bring about the happy result. Like his fellow townsman, Jesse W. Fell, the judge was convinced Abraham Lincoln should be the choice of the Illinois delegation to the approaching Chicago convention. To help insure such a result, he laid aside his judicial robes, and attended the Republican State Convention at Decatur, May 9 and 10, 1860, less than a week prior to the national meeting. He was called to help the committee revise the list of delegates from the state so as to insure as much Lincoln strength among its members as possible. His own name was on the final list as a delegate at large.[39]

Davis established Lincoln's headquarters at the Tremont House, finest of the city's forty-two hotels. From this barometer of Lincoln stock came the plans that directed the rising tide for Lincoln. William H. Seward's boisterous regiments had to be met by a larger number of Lincoln Boosters; Seward delegates must be shaken in their faith. Opponents of Seward like Horace Greeley and David Dudley Field of New York, Andrew Gregg Curtin of Pennsylvania, and Henry S. Lane of Indiana, must be encouraged in their opposition to Seward. With this undermining process, cohesive elements must be erected to unite as much of the opposition as possible for Lincoln. There was much work to be done; and Davis, by nature vehement, forceful and industrious, was spurred on by a faith in the fitness of his candidate.

Politicians then as now, gauged the nomination by the election. In 1860 they saw four doubtful states, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois. With these states in the Republican column and what appeared to be certain strength elsewhere, they could elect their candidate.

Many and varied are the stories of the efforts to win these states, tales of night meetings, one-o'clock-in-the-morning caucuses, bargains

[37] Paul M. Angle, "Abraham Lincoln: Circuit Lawyer," *Lincoln Centennial Association Papers*, 1928, 35.

[38] F. I. Herriott, "The Conference in the Deutches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860," *Transactions of Ill. State Hist. Soc.* 1928, p. 101.

[39] I. N. Arnold, *Abraham Lincoln*, 163.

and promises of cabinet positions. That Davis was responsible for at least two such promises there is little doubt. Letters which he received later from Caleb B. Smith in regard to a cabinet position, and his own statements, evidence one promise; that one to Indiana, a cabinet position for Smith in return for Hoosier support of Lincoln.[40] The support of Pennsylvania was assured to Lincoln by a promise to place Simon Cameron at the President's council table. It was this accession that turned the tide on the second ballot, after a complimentary vote had been given for Cameron.

"Make no contracts that will bind me," Lincoln wrote to his managers the day before the nomination.[41] But Lincoln was in Springfield and could not know conditions, was Judge Davis's reaction, and with the aid of Norman B. Judd, Leonard Swett and Joseph Medill, the agreements were made. We may conclude that Davis felt that he was the lawyer in court, who, by virtue of his position, was clothed with certain authority even to the extent of disregarding his client's instructions. "They have gambled on me all around," Lincoln said after the nomination, "bought and sold me a hundred times. I cannot begin to fill the pledges made in my name."[42] Whether condemnation is due Davis for the promises made, is left to the reader. That he was a leader in bringing cohesion out of disintegration and uniting the full strength of the opposition to Seward into support of Lincoln is beyond dispute.

Sixty days prior to the convention, Lincoln wrote: " . . . . nor have my friends, so far as I know, yet reached the point of staking any money on my chances of success."[43] Yet when the nominations were over, the convention adjourned, Davis paid the bill for the Lincoln headquarters, and then, in company with Leonard Swett, called on Thurlow Weed to discuss the approaching canvass. They prevailed upon him to see Lincoln in Springfield on his return from a visit in Iowa. A week later they were present at the first meeting of that shrewd politician with the new standard bearer of the Republican party.

Davis took an important part in the campaign, kept in close touch with politicians in the East and spent six weeks in the summer surveying the field in Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York where he conferred with Weed and Governor E. D. Morgan, Chairman of the Republican National Committee. Studying the situation in Indiana on his return, the Judge became alarmed and wrote Thurlow Weed that "foreign aid" was needed. The same day he wrote Mr. Lincoln: "Will be down Monday and report. I should like two or three hours' conversation."[44]

The election over, Lincoln elected, the question arose, would he fulfill the pledges made at the convention? Having made them, Davis was insistent that they be kept, so much so that he annoyed Mr. Lincoln.

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[40] Caleb B. Smith to David Davis, Indianapolis, Jan. 31, 1861 and Washington, D. C., Feb. 5, 1861, Davis MSS.

[41] Herndon & Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln*, 462; Otto Gresham, *Greenbacks*, 37-38. He says Davis told him of promises made in the Convention.

[42] O. J. Hollister, *Life of Colfax*, 147n.

[43] Nicolay & Hay, *Complete Works*, I, 632.

[44] Davis to A. Lincoln, Aug. 24, 1860. From H. W. Fay, Springfield, Ill.

Jealousy was rife among the factions in the Republican party of the President's own state. The Chicago group wanted Norman B. Judd in the cabinet. The Bloomington crowd did not. Mrs. Lincoln wrote the Judge urging him to advise Mr. Lincoln to make his cabinet without Judd.[45] Until time for the president-elect to go to Washington, Judd's friends believed he would be appointed, thinking the announcement was held up as a "man does not like to be clapper clawed for a longer time than is absolutely necessary."[46] In April, 1861, Swett wrote: "Tell [Caleb B.] Smith what I know, that it was through the Illinois fight and Judge David Davis that Judd went out and he went in."[47]

The selection of Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania for a place in the cabinet caused an uproar. He had warm friends and bitter enemies. The president-elect was in a quandary. The State of Pennsylvania could no more be overlooked than could New York. On the last day of the year he was tendered a position "as Secretary of the Treasury or as Secretary of War." Three days later Lincoln asked Cameron to decline the appointment. This he refused to do, and thus the matter stood when in March he took the place of Secretary of War.

Davis accompanied the President on the triumphal trip to Washington in February, 1861. He took quarters in Willard's Hotel in Washington near the President. Here for two weeks the Judge was in the center of excitement; curious folk, and office seekers of high and low degree failing to reach the President, "told it to the judge." "Who that witnessed the scene," says an eye-witness, "can forget how, in the gusty two weeks that foreboded the storm, Davis stamped back and forth among the male and female politicians that crowded the corridors at Willard's, doing great and small errands for large and little people, with hat cocked awry on his head, in the free and easy fashion of the boundless West."[48]

After a year of hard work in behalf of Lincoln's candidacy and election, he had grounds to believe an appointment would be forthcoming. When Ward H. Lamon suggested to the President that the Judge would like the office of Commissioner of Patents, he met with instant refusal.[49] After a month in Washington, Davis returned to Bloomington, to the "small business of holding Courts on $1,000 a year."

In May, 1861, his friend, Secretary of War Cameron, appointed him to the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy. Happy with the appointment, he was ignorant of his duties and wrote to Thurlow Weed: "At first blush, about the only motive with me in going there would be to see you and have a talk . . . . The dreadful condition of this country has relieved the administration from the odium

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[45] Mary Lincoln to D. Davis, New York, N. Y., Jan. 17, 1861. Davis MSS. The letter was not mailed until Jan. 21st on her return to Springfield.

[46] E. Peck to L. Trumbull, Springfield, Feb. 2, 1861. Trumbull MSS.

[47] L. Swett to Ward H. Lamon, Bloomington, Apr. 7, 1861. Lamon MSS. Davis to W. W. Orme, St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 23, 1862. Orme MSS.

[48] H. B. Stanton, *Random Recollections*, 221; Alonzo Rothschild, *Lincoln Master of Men*, 456, David Davis in Springfield read the first inaugural address.

[49] Davis to Ward H. Lamon, Mar. 30, 1861, Lamon MSS.

of bad appointments. . . . Knowing nothing of military matters, could I be of any service? Mere loafing and looking wise and pretending knowledge about things of which I am ignorant is not to my taste."[50] The board met at West Point on the tenth of June and proceeded under the Superintendent and members of the Academic Staff, to make the usual examination of the buildings.[51] For several days they examined the various classes of cadets on the subjects which formed their courses of instruction.

V

Once again Secretary Cameron called him to serve the administration, this time as chairman of a committee to investigate claims in the Department of the West. Hugh Campbell, a prominent merchant of St. Louis, and Joseph Holt, Postmaster General and Secretary of War under President Buchanan, were the other members of the committee. Since the opening of the Civil War there had been much looseness in the allowance of claims upon the National Treasury from St. Louis and its vicinity. With the arrival of General John C. Fremont in July, 1861, as Commander of the Department of the West, conditions grew worse.[52] A man of great amiability of character, he had too great confidence in the statements of others, and thus was easily influenced by designing men. The committee found, as General McClellan remarked: "A system of reckless expenditure and fraud perhaps unheard of before in the history of the world."[53]

For five months the commission were "constantly investigating imbecility, extravagance and corruption."[54] Claims amounting to $8,000,000 were presented. Twelve hundred witnesses were examined, and some seven thousand pages of testimony taken. The greatest of Fremont's follies uncovered in the investigation was the pontoon bridge built across the Ohio River at Paducah, Kentucky. Built at a cost of $120,000, it immediately disappeared down stream with high water the next spring. In the report of the commission, Davis described the fabulous prices paid by the government for tents, mules, cavalry horses, mortar boats and Fremont's lease of a marble home of a relative for his 'headquarters' at $6,000 per annum. "No such provision as this has been made for any major general in our history."[55]

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[50] Davis to Thurlow Weed, Danville, Ill., May 7, 1861. Library of Brown University. Davis to Ward H. Lamon, Clinton, Ill., May 31, 1861, Lamon MSS.

[51] Maj. E. E. Farmer, Librarian of U. S. Military Academy to the writer, Nov. 13, 1929. "This board elected Charles Davies of New York as its President, and Herman Haupt of Massachusetts, as Secretary. The other members were James S. Alban, Asabel Bush, James G. Blaine, James Clarke, David Cooper, Alexander Cummings, David Davis, John Woodruff."

[52] *War of the Rebellion: Official Records*, series I, vol. III, pp. 390, 406, 559.

[53] *Ibid.*, 568.

[54] Davis to W. W. Orme, St. Louis, Jan. 27, 1862, Orme MSS.

[55] *House of Representatives*, 37th Congress, 2d session, Executive Document No. 94, Davis prepared the 36 page report, which includes the story of many other forms of graft not mentioned above.

VI

When Davis opened his last term of court in Urbana, Illinois, in April, 1861, he found a new prosecutor, Joseph G. Cannon, who later became "Uncle Joe" Cannon of the lower house of Congress. "Mr. Cannon, the new prosecutor," he wrote, "is a pleasant, unassuming gentleman and will in time make a good prosecutor. He has a bright future. . . . This is my last court here and no lawyer is practicing here who was practicing here when I held my first court. This is emphatically a world of change."[56] Fourteen years had passed since he had taken the title of 'Judge.' Middle life had arrived, a touch of national politics had 'unhinged' him for circuit life, a life that was soon to become only a memory.

On the last day of the October term, 1862, he called the Logan County bar together in the old court house at Lincoln and said: "My official connection with the people and bar of this circuit is about to terminate. The President has tendered me an appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States which I shall accept, although distrustful of my abilities to discharge the duties of the office. I was elected judge on the adoption of the present constitution. Since then, how changed the business, the population and the material interests of this State. The Eighth Judicial District at that time included fourteen counties. Now it is reduced to three (McLean, Logan and DeWitt), and the business of these three counties is nearly, if not quite, equal to that of the whole fourteen in 1848. Several of our brethren have risen to eminence. The President of the United States and also that great lawyer, Judge Logan, for many years practiced with us; the lamented Douglas was once the Prosecuting Attorney in some of the counties forming the district; General McDougall, now a Senator in Congress from Ohio; the noble Baker, who yielded his life for his country at Ball's Bluff; the chivalric Hogg, whose death we have so recently mourned; the gallant Oglesby, distinguished alike for his services and suffering, and my immediate predecessor, Judge Treat, having adorned the Supreme Bench of our State, is now United States District Judge for the Southern District of Illinois."[57]

In 1861, following Justice McLean's death, the friends of Davis began the agitation to place him on the United States Supreme Court. Lawrence Weldon of Bloomington wrote: "I see Judge McLean has departed this life. The question is, who shall succeed to the ermine so worthily worn by him . . . . why should not David Davis . . . . especially when he was so instrumental in giving position to him who now holds the matter in the hollow of his hand? Dear Hill, if justice and gratitude are to be respected, Lincoln can do nothing less than to tender the position to Judge Davis. . . . I want you to suggest it to Lincoln."[58] When it was rumored that Thomas Drummond of Chicago would be appointed, Davis expressed a desire for his place as Judge of the United

[56] Davis to Ward H. Lamon, Danville, Ill., May 10, 1861, Lamon MSS.
[57] L. B. Stringer, *History of Logan County, Illinois*, 322-323.
[58] L. Weldon to Ward H. Lamon, Urbana, Ill., Apr. 6, 1861, Lamon MSS.

States District Court, saying he "would prefer it to the Supreme Judgeship because I know I could discharge the duties of the one satisfactorily, but am diffident about the other."[59] The President's appointments had disgusted him; a particularly bad one provoked the remark, "De Gustibus non Disputandum Est."[60] It was only after a year and a half of urging on the part of Davis's friends that Lincoln made the appointment.

In his note with the commission, Lincoln had requested the Judge to come to Washington at once as "I would like to see you on private business this fall." On November 10, 1862, the Judge with his wife and daughter Sarah started to Washington. Leaving his family in Massachusetts, he hurried to the Capital to renew once more his friendship of a quarter century with the occupant of the White House. The high spots of his first days in Washington he enumerated to a friend: "I was confirmed yesterday, and shall get my commission and take my seat tomorrow, and the black gown. By the way, Judge Clifford is a larger man than I am. . . . I dread going on the Bench. I wish that I had your advice and counsel. . . . I was very much in the blues all last week. I feel better today. . . . Mr. Lincoln is very kind, but care worn. . . . Writing opinions will come hard to me. I don't write with facility."[61] This letter was written in the office of the Marshal of the District of Columbia. Davis had probably gone there to chat with Marshal Ward H. Lamon of old times on the Eighth Circuit, times that were past, for now the Judge, the prosecuting attorney, and the most famous lawyer of that circuit were servants of the whole people, domiciled in the nation's capital.

A coincidence, Justice Davis was assigned to the Eighth Federal District. This part of his duties as a Supreme Court Judge was more agreeable than sitting in Washington. He sat with his old friend, Judge Samuel H. Treat, in Springfield, and became especially fond of Judge Thomas Drummond and, after 1869, an intimate friendship with Judge Walter Q. Gresham in Indianapolis all tended to make the circuit duties very pleasant. Holding court in Indianapolis, General (later President) Benjamin Harrison appeared before him as attorney for the plaintiff. Harrison was insistent on going to trial in a case in which the attorney for the defendant was absent. Davis suggested that the case be continued. The General was insistent. Finally Davis said: "General, you are entitled, under the rules, to a trial and you can have it. I had a

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[59] Davis to Ward H. Lamon, Urbana, Ill., Apr. 14, 1861, Lamon MSS. Hawkins Taylor to A. Lincoln, Washington, July 12, 1862, Lamon MSS. After discussing the new Supreme Court law just passed by Congress, he continued: "But I will say that in my honest opinion, with every opportunity of knowing, that but for the *extraordinary* effort of Judge Davis; you would not have received the nomination at the Chicago Convention. I can say to you that I consider your nomination providential . . . . Viewing the case in the light that I do, I feel that it is due to yourself as well as to Judge Davis that you should tender him the appointment of Supreme Judge." Taylor was a delegate from Iowa to the Chicago Convention. President Lincoln appointed him Postoffice Inspector for Kansas in 1863.

[60] Davis to Ward H. Lamon, Clinton, Ill., May 31, 1861, Lamon MSS.

[61] Davis to Wm. W. Orme, Washington, Dec. 9, 1862, Orme MSS.

case of this kind the last time I was in the Circuit Court at Springfield. The attorney for the defendant was absent and I had to look after the defendant's interests. And, would you believe it, General, our side won." "Continue the case," said Harrison.[62]

Though troubled by the effect of the heat on his three hundred pounds in attending these district courts in the summer, Davis more than met the requirements of the law; "to attend at least one term of the Circuit Court in each district of his circuit during every period of two years."

The first opinion written by Justice Davis was in *Randall* v. *Howard*,[63] an involved land case from the county of his birth, Cecil County, Maryland. After reviewing the facts of the case, he continued: "these allegations, stripped of their indefiniteness and vagueness, mean simply this, that the parties to this bill, in order to counteract a claim set up by other parties for a portion of the mortgaged lands, combined together, through the aid of the Court, to shorten the time of sale and to cover up the real ownership of the property." "A fraudulent agreement entered into to defeat a fraudulent claim," pointed out the justice, "can not be executed."

In 1866, in the midst of the quarrel over Reconstruction between Congress and the President, came the decision of the Court in the case of *Ex parte Milligan*.[64] In this decision the Court held that the President had no power to institute trial by military tribunal during the war in localities where the civil courts were open. On October 5, 1864, Lambdin P. Mulligan and others were arrested by order of General Alvin P. Hovey, Commanding the Military District of Indiana. October 21st he was put on trial before a military commission at Indianapolis on a charge of conspiracy against the Government, giving aid and comfort to the rebels, initiating insurrection, disloyal practices and violating the laws of war. He was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged May 19, 1865. This sentence was approved by President Johnson. On May 10th he petitioned the United States Circuit Court in Indiana, presided over by David Davis and David McDonald, the district judge, for a discharge from custody under the terms of the *Habeas Corpus* Act passed by Congress, March 3, 1863. The judges disagreeing, certified the question of law to the Supreme Court. The case was argued from March 6th to 13th, 1866, only two months after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment by Congress, and at a time when legislation based on the continuance of military control was still under debate.

In the short space of eleven days after the argument, the court reached its decision, unanimously deciding in favor of the *Habeas Corpus,* that the military commission authorized by the President had been unlawful. A minority of the justices desired to confine the decision to the legality of the commission which tried the case in question. The majority, of which Davis was one, took the occasion to state their further opinion that neither the President nor Congress possessed the

[62] Matilda Gresham, *Life of Walter Quintin Gresham*, 352-3.
[63] 2 Black, 585-90.
[64] 4 Wall, 2.

power to institute such a military commission, except in the actual theater of war, where the civil courts were not open. In his opinion, Davis said: "No graver question was ever considered by this court, nor one which more nearly concerns the rights of the whole people; for it is the birthright of every American citizen when charged with crime to be tried and punished according to law. . . . The founders of our government . . . . secured in a written Constitution every right . . . . By that Constitution and the laws authorized by it this question must be determined. The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances." Its provisions cannot be "suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism. . . . Martial rule can never exist where the Courts are open, and in the proper and unobstructed exercise of their jurisdiction."[65]

This opinion of Davis was his best work and is yet considered a bulwark of American liberty. The Reconstructionists in Congress objected seriously to it. Thaddeus Stevens, the most savage of the group, denounced it: "That decision, although in terms not so infamous as the Dred Scott decision, is yet far more dangerous in its operation upon the lives and liberties of loyal men. . . . That decision has unsheathed the dagger of the assassin and places the knife of the rebel at the breast of every man who dares proclaim himself . . . . a Union man."[66] There was much talk of remodeling the Court. Many favorable comments, however, were forthcoming. Thomas Hendricks placing it "among the land marks of liberty."

Two other important opinions written by Davis were in the *Gaines* v. *New Orleans*[67] case and in the *United States* v. *Union Pacific R. R. Co.*[68] The labor of the Supreme Court became irksome about 1875. He thought of resigning, but the problem of what then to do did not bring its own solution. The opportunity to enter the United States Senate from Illinois in 1877 came as a very welcome solution. For fourteen terms he had sat on the bench, paying close and interested attention to an argument, seldom taking notes, relying upon an excellent memory and a sort of automatic analysis accompanying it within. One hundred and ninety opinions, an average of nearly fourteen each term, had come from his pen. With one or two exceptions they were very short and in many cases very interesting.

VII

Judge Davis did not sit with the Supreme Court during the December 1864 term. In February 1865 he expected to return to Washington, but the carbuncle on his neck, which was to bother him intermittently for the next twenty years, would not heal. In April, his health slightly

[65] *Ibid.;* James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln,* Chapters VII and VIII.

[66] *Congressional Globe,* 39th Congress, 2d session, 269.

[67] 6 Wall. 642.

[68] 1 Otto, 72.

improved, he went to Chicago to sit on the United States Circuit Court with Judge Drummond. Court had not yet opened on that fatal Saturday morning of April 15th, when news of the death of President Lincoln flashed over the city. At noon came a telegram from Robert Lincoln: "Please come at once to Washington to take charge of my father's affairs. Answer."[69] All protests in Chicago against the Lincoln administration were forgotten, only Lincoln the man was remembered as mourners filled the federal court room. The crowd silently arose as Judge Davis and Drummond slowly entered the room. Davis's massive countenance portrayed his great personal loss as he began to speak: "This nation is stricken by a great calamity and a great sorrow. My sorrow is a double one. I sorrow, not only as a citizen of the United States, but, as a personal and devoted friend of the President.

"The President of the United States has been murdered. Atrocious crimes, with few parallels in history have been committed. Let us take a day for reflection and meet on Monday and give public expression to our feelings and duties."[70]

In the capital, Davis found much discussion over the place of burial of the President. In consultation with Robert Lincoln he favored Springfield as the final resting place of his friend, and the future home of Mrs. Lincoln.[71] The Judge accompanied the funeral party as far as Baltimore then returned to the White House to gather up the President's papers to take to Illinois.[72] No will being found, letters of administration were made out and Davis took the oath on the fourteenth of June at Springfield. The President's first law partner, John T. Stuart signed the bond.[73] The estate in 1861 has been variously estimated from $10,000 to $25,000. Accumulation of property was not a marked characteristic of Mr. Lincoln. Politics had not compensated him financially for the time taken from the law. While in the White House he had received from his partner, William H. Herndon a check for $133 as his half of collections made, with a promise of fifteen more due him. In closing Herndon remarked: "I am toddling on tolerably well, just making ends meet, but that is enough for me or any man in this world at this time. *Above* all I am a sober man, and will keep so the balance of my days."[74]

The inventory showed that President Lincoln had left his family a good estate. Treasury drafts, certificates of loans to the treasury and bonds were converted into six per cent registered bonds to the amount of $57,000. There were $8,769.06 in uncashed treasury warrants for salary. These amounts with the proceeds from the notes held prior

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[69] The telegram received by Davis is preserved among the Davis MSS.

[70] *Chicago Times*, Apr. 17, 1865.

[71] Browning Diary, April 17, 18, 1865, MS. in Ill. State Hist. Library.

[72] Davis to Julius Rockwell, Washington, Apr. 24, 1865 and Chicago, Ill., Apr. 30, 1865. Rockwell MSS. Julius Rockwell signed Robert Lincoln's entrance bond to Harvard College.

[73] The papers of Administration of the Estate of Abraham Lincoln, and of the guardianship of Thomas Lincoln, minor son of Abraham Lincoln. 297 pieces of manuscript are on deposit in the Ill. State Hist. Library.

[74] W. H. Herndon to A. Lincoln, Springfield, Ill., Feb. 11, 1865, Davis MSS.

to April 1861 and interest brought the total to $79,482.70 all of which Davis invested in Government securities. Congress voted Mrs. Lincoln a year's salary, which with certain reductions netted the estate $22,025.34. The three heirs of the estate were the widow and her sons Robert and Thomas; and on the settlement of the estate in November 1868, each received $36,991.54. Davis became the guardian of Thomas Lincoln in 1867 and continued until the death of his ward in July 1871.[75]

VIII

A millionaire nominated by Labor for President of the United States! Strange but true! This was the case when Judge Davis received the vote of the National Labor Reform Convention at Columbus, Ohio, on Washington's birthday in 1872.[76] It was considered by many as a huge joke, but not by the Judge himself. He telegraphed in reply to the notification of his nomination: "Be pleased to thank the convention for the unexpected honor which they have conferred upon me. The Chief Magistracy of the Republic should neither be sought nor declined by any American citizen."[77] The last sentence of this reply has become famous. Laconic, it did not commit him in the least to the principles of the party platform, which denounced the national bank and advocated paper money to be issued directly to the people; tariff for revenue only; eight hour day for municipal employees, and the money to prosecute war to be assessed and collected from the wealthy only.[78] That he favored all these resolutions it is hard to believe. The nomination did have the effect of making his name a prominent one in the discussion of the approaching convention of the newly formed Liberal Republican group.

Davis was the choice of the Democratic politicians in the North. He was personally popular in the city of Washington. Everybody liked him on account of his courtesy and amiability. Personal characteristics combined with his stand on the arbitrary arrest by the military in States not in rebellion, combined with his strong denunciation of courts martial in the Northern States had given him standing with the Democrats. Democratic papers over the country regarded the Labor ticket as a suitable one for the coalition of Democrats and Liberal Republicans. Independent newspapers strongly opposed his candidacy.[79]

The Liberal Republican movement had arisen out of opposition to the Grant administration combined with advocacy of the new issues of civil service and a liberal Southern policy. The movement had arisen in Missouri and a call issued in January 1872, for a national convention to meet in Cincinnati on the first of May.

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[75] This summary is obtained from the Administration papers in the Ill. State Hist. Library and the private memorandum kept by David Davis, now in possession of David Davis III.

[76] *Cincinnati Commercial*, Feb. 23, 25, 1872.

[77] Davis to E. N. Chamberlain, President of the National Labor Reform Convention, Washington, D. C., Feb. 22, 1872, McPherson's *Handbook of Politics*, 1872, p. 211.

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] E. D. Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement*, 78, see note No. 220.

Long before the date set, delegates poured into Cincinnati: "a livelier and more variegated omnium gatherum was never assembled."[80] All in all it was a respectable gathering and compared favorably with most national conventions. The friends of Judge Davis were the most numerous of all delegations. Special trains of his followers had come from Bloomington and central Illinois. They had learned the value of numbers and noise at the Chicago Convention of 1860. To and from the Burnet House in Cincinnati they marched, headed by Kadel's band with their "Illinois for Davis: Retrenchment and Reform."[81] His candidacy was "smothered by his friends" remarked one delegate. The opposition to Grant was weakened through a profusion of candidates, and the strength of Illinois was dissipated in a like manner, with Davis, Lyman Trumbull and John M. Palmer as presidential possibilities. In the compromise among these three groups, Davis got one-half of the forty-two official delegates, with the remainder divided equally between Trumbull and Palmer. Long John Wentworth, semi-official head of the Davis group, declared: "I never would have consented to a division of our delegation except upon the principle of giving up my pocket book to save my life . . . . and it has done no good."[82]

The Liberal Republican movement had no future without the Democratic vote, but in the excitement of the convention this was forgotten. Free traders were opposed to Davis as an old Whig and high tariff man. The most serious opposition to his nomination came from the independent editors, Samuel Bowles, Murat Halstead, Horace White and Henry Watterson. They met together for consultation and formed a fellowship for united action which came to be termed the "Quadrilateral." On the night of April 29th they determined not to support the Davis ticket under any circumstances, and this ultimatum was wired to their various papers to appear the next morning as editorial leaders. They opposed him because his campaign was managed by "politicians" and not "reformers."[83] Thus Davis's strength was gone when the convention opened and his ninety-two and a half votes on the first ballot put him only in fifth place, and in the stampede to Horace Greeley he was forgotten.

The Judge had held the nomination of the National Labor Reform Party, "by the halter, neither putting it in the stable nor turning it loose."[84] Turn it loose he did in the summer of 1872.

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[80] Henry Watterson, *Marse Henry*, 242-3.

[81] *Bloomington Pantagraph*, Apr. 30, 1872. It is thought these "free excursions" cost Davis $40,000.

[82] Telegram: John Wentworth to Frank D. Orme, care of Judge Davis, Cincinnati, May 2, 1872, 2:10 P. M. Davis MSS. Wentworth was greatly incensed at the opposition from the Trumbull faction. On May 1st he wired Davis: "Trumbull's son and brother-in-law here fighting Davis. Palmer's son is here fighting for his papa also. Davis has none of his family here."

[83] *The Nation*, May 9, 1872; E. D. Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement*, 87-8; Bowles was editor of *Springfield*, Mass. *Republican;* Halstead was editor of *Cincinnati Commercial;* White was editor of *Chicago Tribune;* Watterson was editor of *Louisville Courier Journal.*

[84] John T. Campbell, "The Hayes-Tilden Contest," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.* 1909, p. 186.

IX

The presidential election of 1876 had failed to decide who should reside next in the White House. Conflicting certificates from several states upon which a Republican Senate and a Democratic House could not agree brought forth the unique device, the Electoral Commission. The plan as finally evolved, called for five senators and five representatives, with four members of the Supreme Court who were to select the fifth justice to complete the 15 members of the Commission. The four senior Associate Justices were Democrats Clifford and Field, and Republicans Strong and Miller. It was expected by everyone that these four would select Justice Davis as the fifth member because of his independent position. The Democrats felt certain with Davis on the Commission they could not lose. They needed but one more electoral vote, surely Davis would decide that the returns from one of the four states should be added to the Democratic column. After five days and a night the bill had passed the Senate, at seven o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fifth of January, 1877. On that morning the House took up the bill, its late start made up by the vigor of the discussion. But the best-laid schemes o'mice an'men gang aft agley. In the midst of the hair splitting discussion of the political bias of Justice Davis, his friends called at the Supreme Court to congratulate him upon his election to the United States Senate by the legislature of the State of Illinois. It is doubtful if the use of any other name in connection with service on the commission could have united both parties in its support; now to all appearances he was not to be a member of that body.

The story of the Judge's election to the Senate brought back memories of the 1855 contest when Lincoln withdrew and Lyman Trumbull was elected. General John A. Logan was a candidate to succeed himself, the unanimous choice of the Republican caucus. The Democrats nominated General John M. Palmer, and the Independents or "greenbackers" General William B. Anderson.[85] It looked like a battle of generals, but the Independents, five in the house and six in the Senate, were not united. The story of the two week struggle is too well known to be given in detail, not until the fortieth ballot did a nomination emerge, Davis getting 101 votes necessary to a choice, from the Democrats and Independent.[86]

The national question now was: could Davis, elected to the Senate by the Democrats, serve on the Electoral Commission? The New York Tribune said not.[87] Republicans in Washington said the same thing. Democrats were angry that their own party could have been so stupid. The piano had been saved while the house burned. "They were," re-

[85] J. M. Palmer, *Personal Recollections*, 431. Anderson served as Colonel of the 60th Illinois Cavalry.

[86] *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 26, 1877. Total vote cast was 200. Davis 101, Lawrence 94, Haines 3, Logan 1, Parish 1. "Logan's friends fooled with the opposition one day too long for they have given Illinois a Senator worthy of the State. Judge Davis is not likely to pan out a model Democratic partisan."

[87] *New York Tribune*, Jan. 26, 1877.

marked a Republican, "caught by the Act of God, who disposes of all human events, and by the act of the Illinois legislature, which disposed of Judge Davis."[88]

"I accepted the Senatorship," said Davis, "because I had been anxious for two years previously to retire from the bench, on account of the enforced sedentary life, and for other reasons. I never believed in the Electoral Commission as a mode of determining the Presidential election. When approached on that subject I positively refused to serve upon it. My name was proposed as the fifth justice against my declared wishes and resolution not to be connected with the commission." He was unwilling "to assume a responsibility, which however honestly it might be exercised, would subject him to misrepresentation in history, by the defeated party."[89] "Judge Davis never expected to be elected Senator, and he never for a moment entertained the thought of serving on the Electoral Commission," said a close friend.[90]

Not wishing President Grant to appoint his successor, Davis did not resign from the Supreme Court until the 4th of March. Stepping from the highest judicial body to the highest legislative body, he was warned that a man may be, "wise in law, a fool in politics." Ward H. Lamon pointed out that he would be "but a Plebe," in the political college, and be "much in such a position as a stumptailed bull in fly time."[91]

Though he took seat number four on the Republican side of the Senate, he refused to attend the caucus of either party, voting first with one and then the other, depending upon the issue. He was assigned to three committees, Pensions; Revisions of the Laws; and Judiciary. As a member of the last he did his best work. He worked for the enactment of his "Court Bill." To relieve the overcrowded condition of the Supreme Court, he proposed an intermediary Court of Appeal in each of the nine circuits throughout the country, with appellate jurisdiction in all cases arising in the District and Circuit Courts. The bill had the support of the judiciary committee and passed the Senate in May 1882 but failed in the House.[92] This was the one serious disappointment in an otherwise pleasant six years.

On the silver question, the important issue of the day, he expressed himself as: "Opposed to unlimited coinage of silver as well as demonetization. Let us maintain the double standard, and coin enough silver to meet the demands of commerce." Davis voted for the Bland-Allison Act providing for the purchase by the government of not less than two nor

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[88] *Congressional Record*, 44th Congress, 2d session, vol. 5, part 3, p. 1911.

[89] Davis to Mr. Hidell, Apr. 7, 1884, Davis MSS. This letter was printed in a newspaper of Rome, Ga., July 11, 1886.

[90] James E. Harvey to Mrs. David Davis, Washington, Mar. 17, 1887. From Mrs. A. D. Green. Mr. Harvey visited with Davis the day the fifth member of the Commission was to be selected. He reported Davis as saying he sternly objected to the intervention of an Electoral Commission to make a President after the people had voted and elected one.

[91] Ward H. Lamon to David Davis, Martinsburg, W. V., Jan. 27, 1877, Lamon MSS. Lamon preserved a copy of his letter and said he would remind the Judge of it in four years and ascertain if his predictions were not true.

[92] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st session, part 1, p. 69. and part II, p. 1824.

more than four million dollars worth of silver per month. When President Hayes vetoed it, he voted to pass the bill, forty-six to eleven, over the president's veto. Four months later he voted for a bill designed to forbid the further retirement of legal tender notes.[93]

One of his few long speeches in the Senate, was made on the distribution of the Geneva Award Fund. Alleging that nearly $10,000,000 remained in the treasury of the fund after the "claims for direct damages" had been paid, he advocated the payment of this amount to the insurance companies. He pointed out, though the aggregate gains of the insurance companies in taking "war risks" more than covered losses sustained thereby, this objection had no force because the government had used such claims in securing the award.[94]

When the Senate of the Forty-seventh Congress met in March 1881, there were thirty-seven Republicans and a like number of Democrats, with one Readjustor[95] and one Independent. When William Mahone of Virginia the Readjustor allied himself with the Republicans, their opponents proceeded to arrange the committees as though they had a clear majority, placing Davis at the head of the judiciary committee. In his speech declining the honor Davis said: "I have never acted distinctly with the Democratic party, and unless its methods change and its wisdom is broadened there is little prospect of my revising opinions calmly formed. . . . Standing between . . . two great organizations and exposed to the carpings of the organs of each, who regard independence as a crime, is not an agreeable position to occupy. But it has suited my politics, because I could not accept either extreme. I have voted on all measures without regard to the political organ, according to my convictions of right and I propose to continue that course until the close of my senatorial term."[96]

In October 1881 a special session of the Senate was called to elect a presiding officer, Vice President Arthur having meantime become President. After a bitter party struggle over the entry of three new Senators they were sworn in, making the parties equal. The Republicans made a bid for Davis's vote by electing him to the position of President *pro tempore*. He was very proud of this position, though not a very strict presiding officer and having little knowledge of parliamentary law, or of the rules of the Senate.[97]

The assassination of President Garfield accentuated the discussion of the Civil Service. Reformers felt that at last their time had come. Senator Pendleton, Ohio Democrat, introduced a bill designed to eliminate the fifty year old abuse in American politics. The opponents of the bill were the Democrats, who out of office for two decades, hungered for the spoils of office. It was not to be. President Arthur announced

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[93] Appletons *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1878, 159, 163. It was said that Davis like many others would not be satisfied until he had a private mint of his own.

[94] *Congressional Record*, 46th Congress, 2d session, part 1, Feb. 9, 1880.

[95] Readjustors in Virginia were a Democratic faction which favored a partial or conditional repudiation of the state debt.

[96] 47th Congress, Special Sessions of Senate, v. 12, Mar. 11, 1881.

[97] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 1st session, part I, p. 31.

in his annual message in December 1882, his "unhesitating support" and three weeks later the Senate passed the bill by an almost solid Republican vote against an almost solid Democratic opposition. The president *pro tem* voted for this "Magna Charta of civil service reform."[98] The "mongrel tariff bill of 1883," he styled "a mass of incongruities and of huge monopolies," but voted with the Republicans to pass it, poorly adapted as it was to the spirit of a progressive age.

Always shy of reporters, he resented their sallies about his size, the label of "Mandarin" and their description of him straddling the fence ready to jump to either party. A small boy meeting him in North Carolina at the close of his Senate days, expressed surprise, "Why father, he is a nice man, an' he wasn't straddlin' no fence neither."

X

In the spring of 1883, Judge Davis was accused by his fellow Senators of matrimonial intentions. He denied it, "Old as the hills and nearly as big, why should I marry," he answered. His first wife died in 1879, and feeling the need of a companion in his old age, he selected a close friend of the family, Miss Adeline Ellery Burr of Fayetteville, North Carolina.[99] They were married March 14, 1883, at Tokay, North Carolina, the country seat of Colonel Wharton J. Green. A three months honeymoon took them to Florida and then across the country to California. A happy reception awaited the couple on their return to Bloomington.

Elected President of the Illinois State Bar Association in 1885, Davis in his annual address gave an excellent discussion of the jury and its important place in the judicial system.[100] In the Blaine and Logan campaign for President in 1884 he took an active part. His last public act was an address on his friend of half a century, John Todd Stuart.[101] Though never an orator, he became an excellent speaker in his last years and this was a noble tribute to his departed friend.

The old enemy, a carbuncle on his neck came again in the spring of 1886. His system weakened, erysipelas set in and despite lavish care the Judge died on June 26, 1886. Upon a calendar in the room in which he died, was found the following sentiment written by Abraham Lincoln upon a sheet dated June 26th: "God is the only being who has time enough, but a prudent man, who knows how to seize occasions, can commonly make a shift to find as much as he needs."[102]

Leonard Volk, a sculptor of Lincoln and Douglas, made a life mask of the Judge. From this mask and photographs, he made the excellent bust, now standing in the Illinois State Historical Library.

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[98] *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, 2d session, v. 14, part 1, p. 661.

[99] Miss Burr was born in Whiteside County, Illinois, February 26, 1843. She was the second of seven children of Captain James M. Burr and Caroline H. Neal who came from Boston and settled in Illinois in 1840. In 1888 Mrs. Adeline Burr Davis married Col. Wharton J. Green. Following his death she moved to Fayetteville, North Carolina where the writer visited her in December, 1929.

[100] *Proceedings of Ill. State Bar Assoc.*, 1885, 35-44.

[101] *Ibid.*, 1886, 47-55.

[102] *Ill. State Journal*, June 29, 1886.

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The writer has spent the last year in a study of the life of David Davis. There was no previous full length biography nor collection of letters as the basis of the study. A large number of his letters have been collected and the leading sources only are listed. Where letters written in Bloomington are cited the name of the town is omitted.

Davis MSS.

The most important source has been the material in possession of Judge Davis's grandson, David Davis III of Bloomington, Illinois. Twenty letters written by the Judge to his father-in-law, William P. Walker; private memoranda on the administration of the Lincoln estate; many letters from politicians over the country in regard to Davis's part in 1872 campaign, telegrams received by him from his managers at Cincinnati Convention; and three scrap books of newspaper clippings.

Drummond MSS.

Mr. James Drummond of Pasadena, California, allowed the writer to copy twenty-five letters of Davis to his father, Judge Thomas Drummond of Chicago. These letters, mainly in the seventies, concern matters of the United States Circuit Court.

Lamon MSS.

Photostats of twenty-nine letters of Davis to Ward H. Lamon and others from the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Galley, San Marino, California, have been a valuable source.

Orme MSS.

Mrs. E. R. Morgan of Bloomington, Illinois, daughter of Brig. Gen. William Ward Orme, close friend of Davis has placed a large amount of useful manuscript material at the writer's disposal. Twenty-five letters of Davis to Orme, thirty-eight letters of Leonard Swett to Orme and nine letters of Ward H. Lamon to Orme in addition to 375 Civil War letters of General Orme to his wife which contain much interesting matter on Davis's life.

Rockwell MSS.

Copies of a dozen letters of Davis to his brother-in-law, Judge Julius Rockwell of Lenox, Massachusetts, have come from Mr. Francis W. and his brother Mr. Samuel F. Rockwell of North Andover, Massachusetts.

Green MSS.

Appreciation must be expressed to Mrs. Adeline Davis Green, second wife of Judge David Davis. The writer enjoyed five days of conversation, reminiscences, and anecdote, and discussion of the Judge, in Mrs. Green's home in Fayetteville, North Carolina in December 1929. Copies of many interesting letters dealing with the years 1883-86 have greatly helped in the study of the life of Davis.

Moore Copy Books

Mr. Clifton H. Moore of Clinton, Illinois, land partner of Judge Davis kept indexed copy books of all business letters. Many interesting facts were derived from an examination of some 900 letters written by Moore to Davis, 1853-1886. These books were examined through the courtesy of Mr. Clifton Moore Warner of Clinton.

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CHICAGO UNDER THE FRENCH REGIME

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The one hundred and ninety square miles that have since become the city of Chicago may be said to have passed under the fleur de lis with the historic ceremony conducted by the Sieur Daumont de St. Lusson at the Jesuit Mission of Sault-Ste-Marie on the Michigan side of the "Soo," June 14, 1671. On that occasion the Canadian official named took possession *(prise de la possession)* in the name of the Grand Monarque, Louis XIV, of "the lands of the West" *(pays de l'Ouest)*. The French flag was unfurled and three times did St. Lusson cry aloud: "In the Name of the Most High, Most Puissant, and Most Redoubtable Monarch, Louis XIV of the name, Most Christian King of France and of Navarre, we take possession of the said place, St. Mary's Rapids, as also of Lakes Huron and Superior, the Island of Caientoton and of all other countries, streams, lakes and rivers contiguous and adjacent, as well discovered as to be discovered which are bounded on one side by the seas of the North and of the West, and on the other side by the South Sea, and in all their length and breadth."[1] An official record *(procès-verbal)* of the transaction was drawn up, signed by nineteen of the witnesses present and fastened with the French arms to a tree, the elaborate pageant concluding with a notable address made to the Indians present by Father Claude Allouez, one of the four Jesuit missionaries who attached their names to the remarkable document. Thus did France file solemnly before the world, as far as symbols and formalities enabled her to do so, her formal claim to the entire Mississippi Valley, thereby establishing an inchoate title which she was shortly to perfect by exploration and actual occupation.[2] Two years later, 1673, the Jolliet-Marquette expedition was to open up the Mississippi River and eleven years later (1682) LaSalle was to announce from the mouth of the same river a second solemn *prise de la possession* of the Mississippi Valley in the French King's name, followed by the establishment of French posts throughout the region from Fort St. Louis on the Illinois to Fort St. Louis near the Mexican Gulf.

The Chicago region thus became French territory, at least inchoatively, in 1671; it ceased to be such in 1763 when the Treaty of Paris

[1] The text of the *prise de la possession* (first published by Margry) is in Ernest Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, Quebec, 1902. For Allouez's address cf. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 55:109.

[2] Parkman, *LaSalle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1907, p. 39 ff., comments (narrowly, however) on the affair: "What now remains of the sovereignty thus pompously proclaimed? Now and then the accents of France on the lips of some straggling boatman or vagabond half-breed—this and nothing more."

of that year gave Canada and the left bank of the Mississippi to England. In the ninety-two years that intervened the area that was to see the rise in all its phenomenal growth of the fourth city of the world was a dependency of Versailles. No other European power asserted proprietorship to it, at least with any earnestness, for one must not overlook the sea-to-sea charters which England issued to her American colonies. Maps are to be found with Virginia and Connecticut's east and west lines run as far as the Mississippi.[3] One sees the Chicago terrain thus fall within the bounds of Connecticut territory. But England's sea-to-sea extension of territorial claims was probably at no time little more than a whim with no apparent basis in natural law or international right to support it, and she quietly dropped these claims when in the Paris Treaty of 1763 she recognized Spain's title to the vast trans-Mississippi West.

One has always found an explanation if not *the* explanation of Chicago's tremendous development in its geographical location. Location was the decisive factor that determined its future destiny. Because it was where it was it was inevitable that it become the key to railroad systems and the central mart for the commerce and trade of the Middle United States. So also whatever importance Chicago possessed under the French regime was determined by its geographical position. It was the presence of the portage or carrying-place between the two great river systems of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence that gave Chicago an importance from the beginning and made it certain that it should assume an historic role in the development of the West. The isthmus, as LaSalle called it, of more or less dry land ranging with the season from one-half to two and one-half miles in length, which normally separated the two basins, was a true continental divide as Louis Jolliet, the originator of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf ship-canal idea, pointed out in the first written reference to the Chicago portage to appear in history.[4] The topographical and documentary researches of Knight and Zeuch recently given to the public constitute a definitive study of this famous physical factor in early Chicago history.[5] Milo Milton Quaife regretted in 1914 that no comprehensive and accurate survey of the seventeenth-century Chicago portage-route was yet available;[6] the regret has place no longer, Zeuch and Knight having traced the portage route with an accuracy and finality that leave nothing to be desired. The actual portage that we thus come to know lay within the present limits of the metropolis, running in the dry season roughly from Albany Avenue at Thirty-first to the junction of South Leavitt Street with the Chicago River, this latter point being in the French period the head of navigation.[7] Over this narrow ribbon of land passed most of the freight and passenger

[3] Cf. Channing, *A Student's History of the United States*, New York, 1902, p. 243.

[4] Thwaites, (ed.) *Jesuit Relations*, 58:105.

[5] Robert W. Knight, M. W. S. E., and Lucius H. Zeuch, M. D., *The location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century. A paper read before the Chicago Historical Society and later elaborated for publication.* Chicago Historical Society, 1928, pp. 145.

[6] Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835*, Chicago, 1914.

[7] Knight and Zeuch, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

traffic between Canada and the Mississippi Valley in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Furs for Paris, despatches for Quebec or Versailles, supplies for the French posts in the Illinois country, traders and trappers, military officers and troops, Indian warriors, missionaries coming down from or returning to the St. Lawrence—these were factors in the picturesque tide of travel that flowed for a spell across the Chicago portage. As long as the portage-route, the key to Canada, was kept open by military protection or other means, Chicago was a place of note in the contemporary scene; when the portage route fell into the hands of the Indians as it did at the turn of the seventeenth century, Chicago again became virtually a blank in history and so remained until a century later when she had a second birth and started forward to develop into the portentous thing that she is today.

Though it was to wait some ten years before it bore its proper name in written records, Chicago emerges into history with the presence on its site of the Jolliet-Marquette party in September, 1673. No earlier visit of a white man to the locality is anywhere vouched for in documentary records, contemporary or later. Attempt has been made, notably by Pierre Margry, to bring LaSalle to Chicago in 1670; but the attempt nowhere finds support, as far as the writer is aware, among present-day serious students of Western history.[8] I have in my possession an unpublished letter of Dr. Clarence Walworth Alvord in which that eminent scholar, the premature passing of whom we all deplore, expressed his unqualified opinion that LaSalle was at no time at Chicago prior to the arrival there of Jolliet and his companions.[9] That this party on their return trip from the Mississippi followed the Chicago portage route seems beyond controversy in view of Marquette's words written in March, 1675, on the banks of the Chicago River: "here we began our portage eighteen months ago."[10] For the rest, the route followed by the Jolliet-Marquette party across the site of Chicago that was to be is traced with accuracy in the monograph to which reference has already been made. One may dispute the right of the two immortal Frenchmen to be called the discoverers in a technical sense of the Mississippi; but one can raise no doubt as to their right to be called discoverers of the old Chicago portage. This indubitable key to the two greatest watersheds of the North American continent first became known to the world in the wake of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition of 1673. Further, where that expedition turned in from the Desplaines to Portage Creek, the history of Chicago may be said to have begun.

But Jolliet and his party, however historic their crossing of the Chicago site, were the merest transients, hurriedly putting the place behind them as they made their way back to the North after their

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[8] A letter of Margry embodying his contention is reproduced in translation, together with a critical discussion and refutation of its contents, in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis and County*, Philadelphia, 1883, 136 ff.

[9] The letter, written in 1918, was occasioned by the appearance in that year of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, to the initial issue of which Dr. Alvord contributed an article.

[10] Thwaites (ed.) *Jesuit Relations*, 59:189.

memorable exploit. It was reserved for the missionary-member of the group later to identify himself with Chicago as its earliest known resident, a distinction which he shares of course with his two companions, Jacques Le Castor and Pierre Porteret.[11] Arriving at the mouth of the Chicago River on December 4, 1674, on his way to Kaskaskia, he camped there for a period of days. It used to be believed that the mouth of the Chicago River, before a straight channel leading into Lake Michigan was cut for it in the eighteen-twenties, coincided approximately with the intersection of Michigan Avenue and Madison Street; but the topographical researches of Robert Knight have made it clear that the river's outlet was further north at a point somewhere between Lake and Randolph Streets.[12] Here, then, is to be sought the spot where Marquette made his first residence on Chicago soil though there is no means of identifying it with perfect accuracy. On December 12 he found a new camping-place two leagues up the river where he remained until March 30 of the following year. Here, on or about December 13, 1674, he celebrated the Catholic rite of the Mass, the first religious service of record in the history of Chicago. Here he made the final entries in his journal, a classic in the history of Western exploration and the earliest known document penned within the limits of the city.[13] Here a sick man in the grip of a mortal disease he passed the long winter in a rude hut, "very pleasantly," however, as he wrote bravely in his journal.[14] Attempts have been made to identify the site of Marquette's second camping-place in Chicago. In 1907 the Chicago Historical Society, largely, it would appear, on the testimony of Ossian Guthrie, a local engineer, that a hillock or high ground had formerly stood on the north bank of the south branch of the Chicago River at the latter's intersection with Robey Street (later Damen Avenue), sponsored the location as the site of Marquette's second camp, a memorial cross being erected

[11] Other Frenchmen had apparently been at Chicago before Marquette arrived there in the December of 1674, but their names are not of record. Perrot's alleged visit to Chicago (Charlevoix, *History of New France*, tr. by Shea, 3:166) is denied by Shea, *loc. cit.*

[12] Knight and Zeuch, *op. cit.*, 82 ff.

[13] The term *recit* is usually employed to designate the account (traditionally ascribed to Marquette) of the Mississippi journey of 1673, whereas the term journal designates the record he made in diary-form of his journey of 1674-1675. The French text of the journal with English translation is in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 59: 86-163.

[14] "Thus it came about that our first account of life at Chicago pictures the doings of a lonely priest passing the dreary winter in a rude hut animated with fiery zeal for the salvation of the savages he was seeking, the while his physical frame was shaken with the pangs of a mortal disease. If plain living and high thinking be the ideal life, no locality ever launched its recorded career more auspiciously than did Chicago in the Winter of 1674-1675." Quaife, *The Development of Chicago*, 1674-1914.

thereon September 28, 1907.[15] Whether Marquette on his return journey in April, 1675, from the Illinois River took the Chicago Portage route or that by the Kankakee is a question one cannot answer with certainty. But it seems more likely that he returned to Lake Michigan, as he came, by the Chicago route.[16]

In April, 1677, two years later than Marquette's departure from his winter-quarters in Chicago, the Jesuit, Claude Allouez, while on his way to take in hand the mission which his predecessor had been forced by broken health to relinquish, arrived at the mouth of the Chicago River, on the banks of which he encountered a band of eighty Illinois Indians. A passage in a letter of his narrates the incident, which was featured by an address of welcome made by the headman of the band.[17] Other Jesuit missionaries were later to follow Allouez in ministering to the Illinois, as Rasles, Gravier, Bineteau and Gabriel Marest, all of them almost certainly using the Chicago route as they came down from Canada. As to Allouez, he has associations with Chicago more than the mere circumstance of having travelled over its site. It appears to have been at his solicitation that the band of Miami Indians known as the Wea or Ouiatenons were induced to settle at Chicago where their ex-

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[15] The evidence in favor of the Damen Avenue site is sketched by Thomas O'Shaughnessy in the *Columbian* (Chicago), October 4, 1907, cited in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 4 (1921):128. Knight and Knight, after a careful survey of the ground in the light of cartographical and other documentary data, have concluded (1930) that the position of the Marquette camp was at the foot of Lincoln Street, which is a short distance nearer (than Damen Avenue) to the mouth of the river. A movement is now on foot to have the city of Chicago lay out a memorial park at Marquette's second winter-camp, which is also commemorated by an impressive monument erected by the city at the northern end of the new Damen Avenue Bridge. A marker commemorating Jolliet and Marquette's arrival at Portage Creek in the autumn of 1673 was unveiled in May, 1930, a considerable tract of the surrounding land having been incorporated into the Cook County Forest Preserves with a view to dedicating it to the public as Portage Park. Jolliet and Marquette also figure in the inscriptions and bas-reliefs on the majestic Michigan Avenue link-bridge of recent construction.

[16] Marquette records in his journal that he cached some of his goods at the Chicago Portage with the intention of returning that way. For biographies of Marquette, cf. Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Father Marquette*, New York, 1925; Agnes Repplier, *Père Marquette, Priest, Pioneer and Adventurer* New York, 1929; Henry S. Spalding, S. J., "Life of Father Marquette," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. IX (1926-1927).

[17] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 60:158.

posed position made them an object of attack from Iroquois raiders.[18] In one of these attacks the Miami suffered severe losses and the blame of the disaster fell on Allouez who had, so it was alleged, counselled the Indians to make their home at Chicago. As a result the Indians made an attempt on his life which was saved, so it is said, by the inter-

[18] "Father Allouez has retired to a village composed partly of Miamis, partly of Maskoutens and of Ochiatenens [Ouiatenons], who have abandoned their old village and the majority of their kinsmen to make an alliance with the Iroquois and make war with them against the Illinois." Memoir of November 9, 1680 in Margry, *Decouvertes et établissements des Francais*, 2:99. An unpublished memoir on the Illinois Country signed De Gannes, October 20, 1721, but apparently written by the Sieur Desliettes (Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago), indicates that the Miami first settled at Chicago about 1690. This date is consistent with Joutel's journal, according to which there were seemingly no Indians inhabiting the Chicago area in 1687 and the spring of 1688. It is to be noted, however, that Father Allouez died in 1689. If he really induced the Miami to settle at Chicago, it must have been at an earlier date. According to a memoir on the Mississippi country by Iberville, June 20, 1702, the Miami left the banks of the Mississippi for Chicago to engage there in the beaver-trade. "Les Myamy qui se sont retirez des bords du Missispipy et qui sont allés a Chicagou pour le commerce du castor———." Margry, 4:597. De la Potherie in his *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, (cf. Blair, *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, Cleveland, 1912, 2:13-16), gives particulars of an Iroquois attack on the Miami of Chicago. "The messenger said that the Miamis were at the bay [Green Bay] and that they had very badly treated Father Alloüet, a Jesuit, who had prompted their going to Chicagou, as they imputed to him the loss of their people." The Miami defeat at Chicago was evidently a contemporary incident of note and there are numerous references to it in De la Potherie's narrative.

In the translated French documents in vol. XVI (1902) of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* occur several references to Chicago and to the Wea or Ouiatenon sub-tribe of Miami settled there. "They [the ouyatanons and the Miamis] are one and the same nation, having separated into two Bodies on account of the jealousy of the chiefs who formerly governed there. Besides that nation has never been considered as belonging either to the Illinois country or to Louisiana." Governor Vaudreuil to Council, October 22, 1720. (P.394). "The ouyatanons Were also at Chicagou, but they feared the canoe people [northern tribes] and consequently left the place." Memoir of 1718. (P.363). In 1715 De Ramezay wrote to the French Minister: "They [the ouyatanons] must, if possible, be persuaded to transfer their village to Chicagou, so as to remove them 150 Leagues from the English." (P. 326). The Wea immediately or not long after leaving Chicago settled at what was later Fort Ouiatenon (Lafayette, Indiana) on the Wabash River.

Chicago is frequently referred to in the above-mentioned documents whether as a route of travel, a convenient rendezvous for the Indians or a good hunting-region. "The quicapoux [Kickapoo] and the mascoutins are not far from Chicagou, it may be fifty leagues distant. When they wish to go to destroit or the St. Joseph River, they have to pass by way of Chicagou." Memoir of 1718. (P. 372). "From this place [the Detroit River] they [the Barks] can be sent to the Miamis and to Chikager [Chicago] and to la Baye [Green Bay] for the purpose of carrying on Trade with the many nations there." Letter apparently to Pontchartrain, c.1686. (P. 128). "To complete their misfortune they [the Indians] found no one at the Rendezvous at Chicagou." Ramezay to the French Minister, November 3, 1715. (P. 324). "It was there agreed that my son [Sieur de Mannoir] should go to the myamis, the ouyatanons and the Illinois to assemble all these nations at Chicagou—where there is abundant game of all sorts and

vention of Nicolas Perrot, the trader. The episode is told by La Potherie, who apparently obtained his information about it from Perrot.[19]

Of the secular figures active in opening up the Western country during the French regime two in particular came to be identified with Chicago, Robert Cavelier de la Salle and his loyal lieutenant, Henri de Tonti. LaSalle was in the Chicago locality for the first time in 1679 on his way by the west shore of Lake Michigan and the St. Joseph-Kankakee route to found his ill-starred Fort de Crevècoeur on the Illinois River.[20] He was there again on or about New Year's Day, 1682, in the course of his memorable journey to the mouth of the Mississippi.[21] In a letter of apparently that same year recording the details of this journey he takes issue with Jolliet on the practicability of the latter's Lakes-to-the-Gulf waterway by a cut through the Chicago Portage. Of the portage route he gives what is probably the best contemporary description extant. "This (the Chicago Portage) is an isthmus which is 41 degrees, 50 minutes elevation from the pole on the west of the lake of the Illinois (Lake Michigan) where one goes by a channel formed by the junction of several small streams or gullies of the prairie (the Chicago River)."[22] "This record of the latitude," say Knight and

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where they can easily subsist and make a place of shelter while waiting for the savages from detroit, who are to join them at that place." De Ramezay to French Minister, September 16, 1715. (P. 319). "The detachment of Savages from the Sault St. Louis sent by Monsieur de Ramezay, the hurons of detroit and a detachment of the Poutoatomis, in despair at the failure of the measures taken for attacking the Renards in 1715 and for having a rendezvous of the Northern Nations at Chikagou etc." Governor de Vaudreuil to Council of Marine, October 14, 1715. (P. 341).

In Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 1: 67, is the following with no indication of the primary source: "In 1700, De Courtemanche and two Jesuit priests were despatched by the Governor-General of Canada to visit the various tribes in what is now Michigan and Illinois and invite them to send deputies from their tribes to Montreal in order to arrange terms of peace with the Iroquois. De Courtemanche reached the St. Joseph River December 21, 1700 and found the Miamis preparing to send war-parties against the Iroquois as were also all the Illinois tribes except the Kaskaskias. After visiting the latter tribe he returned to Chicago; there he found some Weas (ouyatanons) a Miami tribe, who had sung the war song against the Sioux and Iroquois."

[19] Camille de Rochemonteix in his *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII siecle d'aprés beaucoup des documents inedits*, Paris, 1896, Vol. III, says that the Miami were on the point of burning Allouez alive. The contemporary source for the statement is unknown. Nor has the writer been able to verify from any primary source the statement that Perrot saved Allouez's life.

[20] Parkman, *LaSalle and the Discovery of the Great West*, p. 148.

[21] Margry, 2:165.

[22] *Idem*, 2:166, (tr. from Knight and Zeuch). It is to be noted that LaSalle's "Checagou" river is the Desplaines. However, he applied the term also to the actual site of the metropolis, this being, as far as the writer can ascertain, the first mention by name of Chicago in recorded history "An establishment is also needed at the foot of the lake of the Islinois [Lake Michigan] where navigation ends at the place called Checagou, with a view to assemble there the goods brought in the barks and have them transported to canoes a distance of two leagues beyond, from which [place] only canoes can navigate to the village of the Illinois." Memoir, 1679—September 1680, in Margry, 2: 82.

Zeuch, "should forever settle any question as to the location of the Chicago Portage. Parallel 41° 50′ crosses Kedzie Avenue near Thirty-third Street about 1,000 feet south of the center of Kedzie Avenue bridge."[23] LaSalle's last visit to Chicago was in the summer of 1683 when he journeyed from the Illinois country, which he was never to see again, to France by way of Canada. He must have tarried at Chicago for some time for two letters of his are extant, one dated "from the portage of Checagou June 1, 1683," the other dated September 2 of the same year "from Checagou."[24] As to de Tonti, he appears at Chicago for the first time in 1680 as he made his way up to Green Bay amid appalling hardships after the tragic collapse of Fort de Crèvecoeur.[25] He is there again in December, 1681, leading the van of LaSalle's party that reached the Gulf the following year.[26] Very probably, for the alternative route by the Kankakee and St. Joseph was much less used, he was also there in the course of his subsequent trips to and from Canada. For a certainty he was in Chicago (and for the last time) at the end of October, 1698, when he guided a party of Seminary priests across the portage on their way to the lower Mississippi.[27] Of de Tonti's warehouse or magazine at Chicago a word shall be said later on.

Probably no group of travellers among the many who made the acquaintance of Chicago in the French period had more gruelling experiences to recount than the forlorn remnant of LaSalle's party that made their way north after the great explorer's death. Henri Joutel, who led the party, has put these experiences on record in his journal and the account of them is absorbing reading.[28] The group was at Chicago in September, 1687, but returned thither a few weeks later starving and in extreme dejection, having failed to reach the Potawatomi village near Green Bay. They cached their load of furs at the river's mouth, made their way back to Fort St. Louis, where they spent the winter of 1687–1688, and in the following spring were again in Chicago, where they camped ten days, March 29 to April 8, passing thence to Canada.[29]

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[23] Knight and Zeuch, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[24] The letter of June 1, 1683 is in Margry, 2:317 ff., that of September 2, 1683 (original copy) in the Mason Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[25] Kellogg, *Narratives of the Old Northwest*, p. 294 ff.

[26] DeTonti's Memoir in Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 296. "The distance from Chicaou [to the Mississippi] is estimated at 140 leagues."

[27] Letter of St. Cosme, January 2, 1699, in Kellogg, *op. cit.*

[28] The complete text of Joutel's journal running into some 200 pages is in Margry, III.

[29] The section of Joutel's journal dealing with Chicago is translated (from the Margry text) in Quaife, *The Development of Chicago*. Other contemporary notices of Chicago besides those indicated in the text are extant. Thus, the Abbé Cavelier, brother of Robert de LaSalle, says in an unpublished version of his journal (photostatic copy, Newberry Library, Chicago): "we made [March, 1688] the portage of Chegakou to the Lake of the Illinois." The Baron Lahontan was at Chicago on his return (1694) from his alleged trip up the Missouri, a map which accompanies his *Nouveaux Voyages* (1709) indicating "Chegakou" and the "Portage de Chegakou." Cf. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 4:258. Hennepin passed with La Salle by (perhaps over) the Chicago site in 1679. Charlevoix wished to go to the Illinois (1721) by the route of the "little River Chicagou" but was prevented by low water from so doing. Cf. also another passage in his

Two interesting institutions have been associated with seventeenth-century Chicago, a Jesuit mission and a fort. A word first about the mission. Of its existence we have the most explicit documentary evidence. More than one contemporary letter makes direct reference to it. The party of Seminary priests from Quebec who passed through Chicago in the October of 1698 on their way to the Mississippi visited the Mission and one of their number, St. Cosme, put on record the only data we possess as to its location. "Their [the missionaries'] house is built on the bank of a small river with the lake on one side and a fine and vast prairie on the other. The village of the savages contains over a hundred and fifty cabins and a league up the river is still another village almost as large. They are all Miamis."[30] De Montigny, of the party of Seminary priests, returned later to Chicago, whence he wrote April 23, 1699, to the Jesuit Superior in Quebec. "Your Fathers ———— of Chicagou have spared no pains to make us welcome." He thought the missionaries overburdened with work. "I speak in particular of the one [Pinet] in Chicagou and of Father Bineteu, whom we found in Chicagou quite exhausted after the rather serious illness he had passed through."[31] Still another Seminary priest, Father Bergier of Cahokia, wrote March 21, 1702." "[Rev.] Mr. Foucault has informed me that he wrote to you of the misery to which he saw Father Mermet reduced in his winter-quarters of Chicagou."[32] Of the historical reality of this "Mission of the Guardian Angel of the Miamis at Chicagoua," as it is designated in a contemporary letter, there is therefore not the slightest doubt; but details about it are tantalizingly few. According to Father Gravier, the organizer of the Illinois Missions, it was closed by Frontenac, Governor General of New France, whereupon Gravier appealed to Bishop Laval to have it reopened.[33] Father Pinet appears to have been the sole missionary in residence at Chicago from the beginning of the mission (about 1696) to his withdrawal to Cahokia in 1701, though he was assisted at intervals by Father Bineteau. Pinet was succeeded at Chicago by another Jesuit, Jean Mermet, who in 1702 (or 1701) left the place to serve as chaplain of Juchereau's new establishment at the mouth of the

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Journal historique: "Fifty years ago the Miamis were established at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan at a place called Chicagou from the name of a small river which flows into the Lake." *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, 16:409. In his *History of New France*, tr. by Shea, 3:181, Charlevoix, who is curiously inaccurate in what he records about Marquette, says: "On arriving at Chicagou on Lake Michigan they [Jolliet and Marquette] separated."

[30] Kellogg, *op cit.*, p. 346.

[31] De Montigny's Chicago Letter of April 23, 1699 (probably original copy) is in the Congressional Library. For a photostatic reproduction cf. Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago* p. 19.

[32] Bergier a Laval (?), March 21, 1702. Laval University Archives.

[33] *Jesuit Relations*, 65:53. "*Celle [Mission] de l'Ange Guardian des Miamis a Chicag8a.*"

Ohio.[34] With his departure the Mission of the Guardian Angel, Chicago's earliest religious center, was suspended.[35]

As to the precise location of the Mission various conjectures have been made.[36] The Chicago Historical Society exhibits in its rooms a chart which indicates it as located on the north branch of the Chicago River in the district known as Bowmanville, well within the limits of the municipality. The evidence of whatever value it be pointing to this location is chiefly archaeological, the most extensive Indian village-site in the Chicago area being found in this vicinity with Indian trails crossing it in various directions.[37] Moreover, a French oven and a metal crucifix of antique make have been found in the locality. It is interesting to note that Gurdon S. Hubbard, well-known fur-trader of the frontier period, records in his *Autobiography* a tradition of his day to the effect that a Jesuit mission was located on the north branch of the Chicago River.[38] However, the evidence supplied by St. Cosme's letter of January 2, 1699, the only pertinent documentary source available, appears to fix the mission, not on the North Branch, but somewhere along the half-mile or so of river bank between Lake Michigan and the forks of the Chicago River. This location is within the limits of Chicago's loop-district, the heart of the metropolis. A fresh study of St. Cosme's letter in connection with the new data on the Chicago portage recently brought to light has confirmed the present writer's opinion that the loop location suggested for the seventeenth-century mission at Chicago is very probably the correct one.[39]

As to the alleged existence of a seventeenth-century French fort at Chicago, it may help to elucidate the question if we distinguish between a commercial warehouse or magazine and a military post. A joint report, October 19, 1697, of Frontenac and the Intendant Champigny to the Minister in Paris makes complaint that de Tonti and his partner de la Forest have disobeyed the King's order forbidding them to carry

[34] Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 11:116, 128. Mermet probably went from Chicago to Juchereau's post by way of the St. Joseph Mission, a letter of his from that place dated 1702 being found in Margry.

[35] Frank R. Grover, *Father Pierre Francois Pinet S. J. and the Mission of the Guardian Angel of Chicago (L'Ange Guardien) 1696-1699*, Chicago, 1906; Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, Chicago, 1914, Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, 1673-1871; Lee, "The Calumet Portage," *Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society*, 1912.

[36] The best discussion of the site of the Mission is in Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*.

[37] Albert F. Scharf, *Indian Trails and Villages of Chicago and Cook, DuPage and Will Counties, Ill. (1804) as shown by weapons and implements of the Stone Age*, Chicago, 1900.

[38] *Autobiography of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard*, Chicago, 1911.

[39] The distances recorded for the movements of the St. Cosme party offer the chief evidence for resolving the problem.

on trade, the report adding: "it is well to inform you, Monseigneur, that just now they [de Tonti and de la Forest] have a warehouse (magazine) at Chicagou in the Miami country and another at Missili-mackinac."[40] That de Tonti and de la Forest actually had a warehouse at Chicago is perhaps not definitely established by the report in question; the authors of the report may have been misinformed. (However, there are no positive grounds for not taking the statement in question at its face value.) Again, a document of later date, 1723, makes mention that de Tonti and de la Forest had expended private funds "in the construction of the forts Pimitouy, the Rock and Chicagou."[41] One may perhaps argue that the Fort Chicagou here mentioned is really Fort de Crèvecoeur, in the building of which de Tonti took a hand and which the Indians dubbed "Fort Checagou." In other words, perhaps nothing decisive is to be inferred from this document of 1723 as to a fort built by de Tonti on the site of modern Chicago. Finally, neither de Tonti's own memoirs and correspondence nor any other contemporary record (except Frontenac's letter cited above) connect him (as far as the writer has ascertained) either with a warehouse or a military post at Chicago. It is to be noted, however, that if de Tonti's warehouse at Chicago was a bootlegging affair, as Frontenac's report intimates, he would not be likely to refer to it in his memoirs or other writings. According to a document to be cited later (note 51), de la Forest, de Tonti's partner, was living in 1693 in Chicago, where he ordered a quantity of beaver skins to be delivered to him.

And yet, that there was a military post as distinguished from a commercial warehouse at Chicago in the last quarter of the century seems to be fairly well established by testimony of contemporary date. First, as to LaSalle's supposed fort at Chicago, the only evidence alleged at any time for its existence is to be found in a letter of his in Margry dated from "the portage of Checagou," June 4, 1683. This letter, written, as the explorer says, on a "wretched scrap of paper" *(meschant morceau de papier)* for want of anything better, contains the sentence: "you have before you, Monsieur, two of my habitants, settlers at this fort, where they built a loghouse *(maison de piéces)* this winter, who are going to seek necessary munitions for our defence against two powerful enemies, the Iroquois and Panimaha."[42] From this single statement in LaSalle's letter, historians, including Mason, and Alvord, have concluded that the explorer caused a fort of some kind to be built at the

[40] Archives Coloniales, C″ A, 15, f. 81.

[41] The document is in the Mason Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[42] "Voila monsieur, deux de mes habitants etablis dans ce fort ou ils ont fait cet hyver une maison de pieces qui vont cherher des munitions necessaires pour nostre deffense contre deux puissants enemis, l'Iroquois et le Panimaha." Margry, 2:317.

Chicago portage.[43] However, neither the sentence itself nor its context nor any of the contents of the letter in question seems to require this interpretation. LaSalle's allusion here to a "fort" would appear to be understood rather of Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock as the whole tenor of the letter serves to indicate. However, the writer merely ventures this interpretation in the hope that the document in question may meet with fresh study at competent hands.

At the same time that some sort of military establishment was set up at Chicago later on is indicated on various grounds. The names of three distinct commandants at Chicago find mention in contemporary records, Mantet, Durantaye and Desliettes. A document in Margry, of date about 1700, records that with a view to securing her hold on the western country and especially protecting her trade against the encroachments of the English, France decided to establish a post at Chicago, the Sieur de Mantet being named its first commandant, of which charge he acquitted himself with success.[44] As to when the post was established, the document says nothing directly or indirectly. Again, de Tonti in his Memoir of 1693 makes mention of Durantaye as commandant in 1686 at "Fort Checagou."[45] Still again, the Sieur Desliettes in an unpublished memoir now in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library,

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[43] "La Salle himself halted here at the little stockade with a log-house within its enclosure which two of his men had erected at this point during the winter of 1682 and 1683. This was the first known structure of anything like a permanent character upon the site of Chicago and the first habitation of white men there since Marquette's encampment in the winter of 1674. It was an outlying post of Fort St. Louis established for the procuring of beaver and other furs and its occupants at this time were Jacques Cauchois, the faithful attendant of La Salle in his illness on the Mississippi, and an Indian whose name has not been preserved. Mason, *Chapters in Early Illinois History*, p. 144. Similar statements are made by Alvord, *Illinois Country*, and Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*.

[44] In a Memoir dated October 14, 1697 the Sieur de Louvigny, who had interested himself in carrying on La Salle's enterprises in the Mississippi country, writes: "Amid so great a quantity of peoples of divers manners and different customs, there was need of commandants and Frenchmen to oppose the emissaries, open and covert, of the English and defeat their measures. The Sieur de Manthet, lieutenant of the troops, was chosen by the count de Frontenac to command at Chicago, of which charge he acquitted himself very well.——— As it is not possible that on so long a journey there be not sick and even wounded who should not be able to continue on the way, it is necessary to have an entrepot where they can be received and where provisions and canoes in which to send them to us can be purchased according to our needs. To this end we pray his Majesty to grant us the post of Chicago, which is the passage for entering the Mississippi River, so that the persons we shall leave behind there may rejoin us, receive news from us and give us news touching the state of our affairs whether as regards our journey or things in Canada." Margry, 4:16.

[45] "After going 120 leagues I arrived at the Fort of Chicaou where M. de la Durantaye commanded; and from there I came to Fort St. Louis, where I arrived in the middle of January, 1685 (1686)." De Tonti's Memoir in Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 307. Dr. M. M. Quaife ("Was there a French Fort at Chicago?", *Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society*, 1912) has argued that the fort here referred to by Tonti was the one built by La Salle at the mouth of the St. Joseph River. However, contemporary documents seem to indicate that La Durantaye was at Michilimackinac in 1686. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16:125, 126. A letter of June 8, 1687 says explicityly that he "commanded at Missilimakinak. (*Idem*, 16:130).

Chicago, declares that he resided at Chicago four years, this period, as far as the internal evidence of the document indicates, being apparently the years 1698-1702.[46] However, a joint report October 19, 1697, of Frontenac and the Intendant Champigny to the Minister in Paris, indicates that Desliettes was at Chicago before 1698: "the Sieur De Liette, a petty officer of the troops and a cousin of the Sieur de Tonti commands at the post of Chicagou, country of the Miami."[47] Finally, Cadillac, founder of Detroit, in an undated account of the Western posts includes "Post Chicagou."[48] As to cartographical evidence we have "Fort Chicagou" on Franquelin's map of 1688 and *"Fort des François et Ouatenons"* on Louvigny's map of 1697.[49] From the foregoing data one seems justified in concluding that there was, at least at intervals, some sort of military post at Chicago in the last decade or so of the seventeenth century though it was evidently on a very modest scale and must have been abandoned almost immediately after the turn of the century named. At the same time it must be said in candor that objection may be raised to this conclusion on the basis of the so-called "argument from silence." It is mystifying indeed that none of the seventeenth-century visitors to the site of Chicago, as de Tonti, Joutel, the Abbé Jean Cavalier, or the Seminary priests St. Cosme and Montigny ever found a fort existing there or at least make no mention of such in connection with their visits. As to Joutel's statement that the Jesuits

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[46] "During the four consecutive years that I remained with the aouciatenons [Ouatenons] at Chicagoua, which is the most considerable village of the Miami, who have been settled there for ten or twelve years [i. e. since 1690 or 1692] I have found no difference." (Memoir on the Illinois Country signed De Gannes, but, as internal evidence indicates, written by the Sieur Desliettes, in command at Starved Rock at the period of the transfer of the fort to Peoria).

[47] Archives Coloniales, C" A 15, f. 81.

[48] Margry, 5:75-132. Selections from Cadillac's report are translated in the *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections*, 16:350-363. "The post of Chicagou comes next. The name means Riviere de l'ail ["Garlic River"] because it produces that plant in very great quantities, wild and without cultivation. The village of the Miamis is there." (P. 361).

[49] Franquelin's map of 1688 is reproduced in Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 342. The Louvigny map is in the Karpinski photostatic collection of maps, Newberry Library, Chicago. The French post, of whatever kind it was, at Chicago had disappeared before 1715. "It would also be very useful to establish a post at Chicagou to facilitate access to the Illinois and the Miamis and to try to keep these nations in our interests." Ramezay and Begon to French Minister, Nov. 7, 1715. *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, 16:332.

The earliest appearance of the name Chicago in cartography is on the unnamed map (apparently Franquelin's) showing La Salle's discoveries, 1679-1682, where it appears under the form "Cheagoumeman." (Reproduced in Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 1:58). Franquelin's map of 1684 (Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LIX) has Checagoumeman; his 1688 map has "Fort Chicagou." Other mentions in cartography are: Chicagou (Minet, 1688?); Checagou (Franquelin, 1699); Checagou (De L'Isle, 1701); Chicagou (Franquelin, undated); Chegakou (Hennepin, 1703); Chicagou (De L'Isle, 1718); Chicagou (D'Anville, 1755).

had built a rival "fort" at Chicago with a view to crippling the trade of La Salle's Fort St. Louis on the Illinois, it may be dismissed as absurd in the premises (seeing that Allouez and his associates were not in any manner engaged in trade) nor has it the slightest corroborative evidence to support it.[50] Joutel, the close associate and lieutenant of LaSalle, shared the latter's prejudices against the Jesuits and no confidence can reasonably be placed in the extravagant statements he makes to their discredit.

The period, then, of activity at Chicago during the French regime is circumscribed with almost mathematical exactness by the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Previous to this time Chicago history is a blank; subsequent to it, it became pretty much of a blank again. That in the interval the Chicago region was in a measure alive with trade and travel is to be explained, as was noted above, by the circumstance that the DesPlaines-Chicago portage-route between Canada and the Mississippi was all this while kept open. These twenty-five years were indeed but a passing flash in the pall of darkness that overhung Chicagoland up to the dawn of the nineteenth century; but they are full of interest for us as we look back on them now. During those years Chicago had indeed a "local habitation and a name" in cartography, in the literature of travel, in private and official correspondence, before Cahokia, Kaskaskia or Vincennes came into being. Any one who works among the surviving records of that remote period must be impressed with the casualness with which Chicago, in a form orthographically almost identical with the current spelling of the name, is referred to as a perfectly well-known and familiar place.[51] Frontenac names it in his despatches

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[50] "They [the Jesuits] had even gone so far as to destroy Fort St. Louis and had built another fort at Chicagou to which they had attracted some of the Indians as they had been unable by any means to get possession of this one." Selections from Joutel's journal in Quaife, *Development of Chicago*, p. 31.

[51] Thus on April 19 of that year, 1693, Francois de la Forest, copartner with de Tonti on a fifty-fifty basis in the proprietorship of the Illinois Country, deeded away half his interest in this region to Michael Acau "in consideration of the sum of 6,000 livres in beaver which the said M. Acau shall pay me at Chicagou where I stay." Tr. in Osman, *The Last of a Great Indian Tribe*, Chicago, 1923, p. 200. The original document, reproduced in facsimile in Osman, is in the Mason Collection, Chicago Historical Society. The deed was probably executed at Chicago, the names of witnesses being subscribed.

Both Joutel in his journal and Cadillac in his memoir on the Western posts (*Supra*, note 48) assign the same meaning to the name Chicago, viz. "garlic" or "wild-onion." ("Skunk-weed or skunk-cabbage," *symplocarpus foetidus*, and even "skunk" were later taken as equivalents.) Quaife in his *Development of Chicago* advances the theory that the correct meaning of Chicago as an Indian term is "strong" or "great." Thus the Indians dubbed Fort Crèvecoeur on the Illinois "Chicagou," which they scarcely would have done had the name signified "garlic" or "skunk." For a similar explana-

to Versailles. Five extant letters, two of LaSalle's and three of Catholic missionaries are dated from the place.[52] In the correspondence of the Seminary clergymen of Quebec Chicago is mentioned by name at least a score of times.[53] Gravier, the Jesuit, speaks of a letter sent to him in 1700 at "Chicagoua."[54] A report of date about 1705 refers to it in discussing plans for the colonization of the West.[55] Distances are measured to and from it as being a sharply defined location in the geography of the day.[56] Map-makers early became acquainted with it, beginning with

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tion cf. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, Vol. I. It is interesting to note that Father Boullenger in his Illinois dictionary (copy in the Chicago Historical Society Library) gives two Illinois renderings for *l'ail* ("garlic"), the second of which is "Chicacoua" with the comment *"abusive."*

"The Illinois country is undeniably the most beautiful that is known anywhere between the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and that of the Mississippi, which are a thousand leagues apart. Its fertility begins to be visible at Chiquagou which is a hundred and forty leagues from Michilimaquinac. At the end of Lake Meschigland (Michigan) it is a little stream only two leagues (long) bordered by prairies of equal dimension in width. This is a route usually taken to go to this country. At this river a portage is made of a quarter of a league in low water and of an arpent in high water. One finds a streamlet for half a league which comes from two little lakes that extend a league and a half, at the end of which, on the rising ground at this point, is made a short portage simply of ones baggage. When the water is favorable, one reembarks at once, but when it is low it is necessary to go a league. This is called the Portage of the Oaks; and it costs considerable effort to get the boat into this streamlet which empties into the river which the French call the Illinois. However, it is not this, as we only find it twenty leagues farther on. The passage is very difficult on account of the low waters which virtually render this river impracticable, because one ordinarily reaches this region only in summer or autumn." Desliettes Memoir. See note 18.

[52] Cf. note 24. The three Chicago letters of the missionaries are those of de Montigny, April 23, 1699 (Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 18), Thaumur de La Source, April 1699, and Michael St. Cosme, April 1699 (Shea, ed., *Relation De La Mission Du Mississippi du Seminaire de Quebec en 1700 par De Montigny, De St. Cosme et Thaumur de la Source*, Cramoisy Press, New York, 1861. For dates of the La Salle letters see note 24.

[53] Cf. Garraghan, "New Lights on Old Cahokia," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 11 (1928): 99 ff. for contacts of the Quebec Seminary clergymen of the seventeenth century with Chicago.

[54] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:100.

[55] "To send explicit orders to the commandant of Detroit absolutely not to allow any Frenchmen to go for purposes of trade among the Foxes, Maskoutens, Kickapoo, nor to Green Bay any more than to Chicago————. As for the post of the Miami or Chicago, which he [Le Sueur] proposes, this must not concern itself with the Mississipy, it is above the latitude of the Mississippy lands———— if they built a magazine there [Chicago] etc." Margry, 4:588.

[56] Thus in the St. Cosme letter of January 2, 1699: "———— this compelled us to take the route by way of Chikagou which is distant about twenty leagues." "———— we camped on the 20th at a place five leagues from Chikagou." "———— the wind which suddenly rose on the lake compelled us to land half a league from Chikagou." Kellogg, *op cit.*, pp. 345, 346.

Franquelin, the first to register it, which he did (under the form "Checagoumeman") in his map of 1684.[57]

Thus did Chicago for what one may not inappropriately called twenty-five eventful years, play its part as a recognized outpost of French power in the New World. But the English cast envious eyes on the trans-Alleghaney country, and their pushing traders were far within its borders at an incredibly early date. The day finally came when the English might settle in Chicago and trade there with impunity. The French title to all the Chicago area was extinguished by the Treaty of Paris, 1763, and that tremendously significant corner of the continent passed as a result from French to British control. Taking St. Lusson's dramatic *prise de la possession* at the "Soo" in 1671 as the formal inauguration of the French regime in the West, one counts ninety-two years for the period during which the fleur-de-lis looked down on the predestined patch of marsh and prairie-land that was to become Chicago.

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[57] The map (usually attributed to Franquelin) showing La Salle's discoveries, 1679-1682, has "cheagoumeman." See note 49.

WARSAW AND FORT EDWARDS ON THE MISSISSIPPI

By Miss Ruth Cory Aleshire
Plymouth, Illinois

I feel we tread on sacred ground when we strive to enter the past and interpret the spirit of adventure, romance, wanderlust or necessity which prompted those folks of pioneer days in their undertakings to settle in any new country.

I am indebted to Mr. John Gordon, President of Hancock County Historical Society, Mr. Paul Heise and other citizens of Warsaw for assistance in securing much of the data I shall use in recounting the establishment of that portion of Illinois which occupies the farthest point west in the State and is now known as Warsaw in Hancock County. Thomas Gregg, the county's earliest printer and most faithful historian, has preserved for us the most accurate and detailed accounts of early transactions which I have used freely.

About 1800, trappers and traders had a post just south of the "great bend" of the Mississippi in what is now known as Rocky Run Township. Wild game was plentiful. Deer, panther, bear, wild turkey, timber wolves, and foxes abounded. In the water about Calomel Spring, beavers were prevalent after many of the species of larger game were extinct, and can be remembered by the present generation.

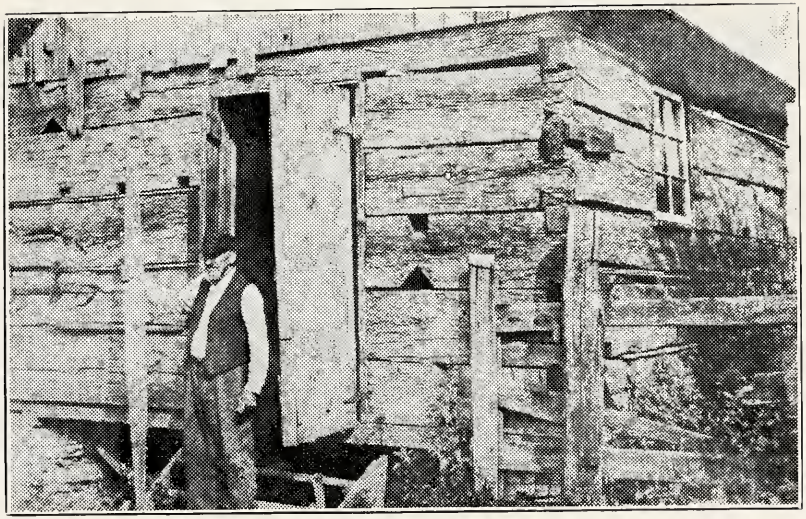
Three Indian tribes held alternate control of these lowlands. The Sacs, under Chief Keokuk; the Foxes under Black Hawk, and the Iowas with Chief Pontiac.

Navigation had begun on the Mississippi as Government forts and Army posts were established farther north and white settlers from the east and south were moving into these settlements to establish homes. The rivers were the only definite highways through Illinois as this "Prairie country" was densely forested in large areas of hard timber and the lowlands were overgrown by tall prairie grasses.

Fort Johnson, the first fort in this section was erected in 1814 by Captain Zachary Taylor (who afterwards became President of United States) and named for the slayer of Chief Tecumseh.

Fort Johnson stood on the southwest corner of the great bluff on the east bank of the Mississippi above the lowlands and floating islands of the river. The Fort commanded a view of the mouth of the Des Moines River which at that time was below the bluff, now, however, the Des Moines empties into the Mississippi about half way between Warsaw and Keokuk—five miles above Warsaw.

Thus, if invading tribes came down the Des Moines or across the lowlands of Missouri or southern Iowa or approached from the prairies



Cooperage made from original timbers of Ft. Edwards.

to the east of the bluff, they were in full view of Fort Johnson, as were those who came up the Mississippi by boat.

Fort Johnson was a wooden stockade with block houses of round logs and stood only a few months until entirely destroyed. In the fall of this same year (1814) Captain Taylor erected another fort on a promontory of the same bluff, but located one-third of a mile north and around the "great bend" to the east, and named it Fort Edwards for the Governor of the Illinois Territory.

This was real military strategy for the site of Fort Edwards had not only all the advantages of location belonging to Fort Johnson, but from it, a wide territory to the north and east could also be observed.

The three-cornered outline of the building can yet be traced and the hewn, square, walnut logs from the officers' quarters were retrieved from an old livery barn many years ago by George Egley and were used in constructing a small cooperage, which is yet in a good state of preservation. The Egley logs are twenty-six in number and are five inches thick and some are twenty-one inches in width. The building made of them is now twelve feet by sixteen feet by eight and one-half feet high, and many of the logs show the loop-holes for rifle fire. An old cross-cut saw made in Liverpool, England, was used in dressing one side of these logs and is also in possession of Mr. Egley.

In 1824, Fort Edwards was abandoned as an Army Post, but for many years was used as shelter by early settlers until they could build houses and secure homesteads.

Fort Edwards was built entirely of logs, enclosed on three sides by a high stockade of logs set perpendicularly and close together. At each corner of the stockade was a block house, the upper portion of which extended out over the lower walls and had long loop-holes for rifle fire. The officers' quarters were on the north side, the soldiers' on the east, both facing the enclosure on open court where a tall staff flew the stars and stripes, visible for many miles and serving as a warning to Indian Tribes and as a protection to settlers.

A large parade ground back of the stockade was the burying ground. The graves were few until the epidemic of 1832. Many tales of romance, adventure, heartache, and lasting friendships could be recounted for many of the families who came to settle in this section spent their first winters inside the fort, sharing hardships, privations and pestilences together.

Adam Cook now lives on a farm of one hundred and sixty acres which was the first land pre-empted from the Government in the "great bend." Major Marston, an officer in the Fort, who pre-empted this tract fell off his horse one night while drunk and was drowned in Calomel Spring.

Mark Aldrich was the first white settler and his house of hewn walnut and oak logs, built in 1836, was removed only a few years ago and the present high school building of Warsaw was erected on the site.

The first white settlers were Yankees and the names of Worthen, Crawford, Hill, Marsh and Sack were among the first. The first foreign group to come were Germans. They crossed the Atlantic in sail boats

and then came by the Great Lakes and the river route via Pittsburgh, Ohio River, St. Louis and up the Mississippi.

John Streng was one of the first German settlers—arriving with his family of thirteen, Caroline being born at sea. She was the mother of Paul Heise now residing in Warsaw. John Streng was one of the fifty thousand survivors of Napoleon's army of one-half million.

It took these immigrants about nine weeks to cross the Atlantic and about twelve weeks to come from Baltimore to Fort Edwards, but some made better time as a "fast boat" was run for a long stretch on the Ohio River—time was gained as the mules trotted as they "towed" the boat, giving it the name and prestige of a "fast boat."

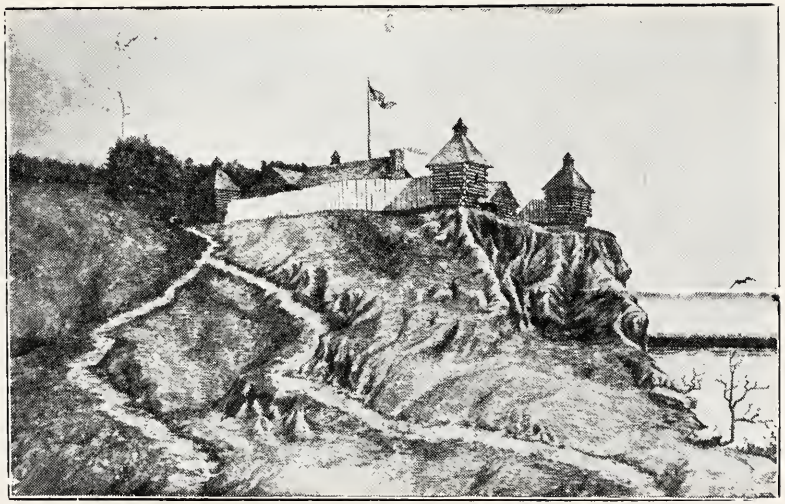
The first mill in the community—in fact, in the tract now known as Hancock County—was built by Jim Pettit on Pettit Branch in 1830. This was near the early trading post south of the Fort and recent excavations in Rocky Run Township reveal that the "Pinnacle" near there was the Indian burying ground. The stones for this old water mill were dressed out on this land and may be seen there today. They are more than three feet in diameter and weigh between three hundred and four hundred pounds each. The mill was a log building and the overshot wheel provided power.

The number of settlers increased, the navigation of the Mississippi was improved and the hazard of the Indians was decreased. Timber lands were cleared and fields were tilled. Hospitality of the abandoned Fort soon spread and the fertility of the soil, the bounty of game and fish, and the rich timber lands all combined to attract settlers seeking homesteads. Major Wilcox, an officer in Fort Edwards, had become so enamored with the beauty of the country as well as with the physical advantages that he resigned his commission in the Army and joined with Montague in here locating and plotting a town about 1834 and naming it Warsaw. New industries sprang up with increased population and the town developed pronounced lines of demarcation between the settlements and the industrial tracts.

The Germans had cleared the timber lands directly south of the bluffs of the "great bend" and planted gardens and built brickyards and cooperages; their section soon became known as "Stump Town" for obvious reasons. By thrift and integrity they had one half dozen brick yards, also many vineyards and gardens, and at one time there were forty-five cooperages employing two hundred and fifty persons. These cooperages started in the early 40's and all the work was done by hand; the Germans later worked in the breweries.

The French came next and planted several hundred acres east of "Stump Town" into vineyards and orchards; this increased the demands for the product of the cooper shops.

These French were born in Alsace Lorraine and spoke both in French and German languages. They built saloons, business houses, dance halls, schools and homes of logs and frame and brick; there were many large brick buildings three stories in height. Many colored people worked for the French and at one time there was a large Negro school



Fort Edwards on a bold bluff fronting Keokuk and the Iowa shore.

in the French Quarter. There were Swiss settlers too, who aided the Germans in making wine for local use and for shipping.

The Germans had large families—one Rheinhart Nickles having twenty-one children in his family.

The Irish settled in the lowlands just west of German town and they raised ducks, geese and pigs, worked in the distilleries, and helped to clear the timber lands.

Wood was used for fuel in brick yards and breweries and also was stored in large quantities along the river bank. It was cut into convenient lengths and corded high, the rows reached for miles along the river banks and near the boat landings.

Warsaw became an important shipping center. Floating islands have attached themselves to the Illinois shore of the Mississippi and now there are some three hundred or four hundred acres of bottom land south and west of the old deep channel where landings were made.

A stone house near the levee, which is still occupied as a dwelling, was built by Major Wilcox, as lower Warsaw was at one time expected to be the principal part of the city.

Mark Aldrich, who built the first log house, was the Government Indian Agent and he left Warsaw in 1852, having been elected in the legislature of Nevada Territory.

The city of Warsaw is located on the bluffs in the bend of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River. Its east and south lines are each about three miles long, running at right angles, and intersecting the river on the north and west, the line along the river shore between the termini of these lines being over four miles in length. The bluffs in front are abrupt, rising from the water's edge to a height of 80 or 100 feet, on which the town is built. The sites of the old Forts, Johnson and Edwards, are within the city limits; the former on the high point two hundred yards below Main Street, and overlooking Albers & Company's steam mill, and immediately opposite the principal mouth of the DesMoines; the latter occupying a bold bluff a half mile further up the river, and fronting toward Keokuk and the Iowa shore. The city is handsomely situated, though portions of it are rough and cut up by deep ravines. From the top of the bluff back for three-fourths of a mile there is a gradual rise till it reaches the level of the back country, thus affording ground for handsome streets and picturesque building sites.

Warsaw was laid out in 1834 by John R. Wilcox, Mark Aldrich, John Montague and John W. Vineyard; and in 1836, addition was made to it by Mark Aldrich, John Montague, L. Allen Key, Richard F. Barrett, Joseph Duncan and Calvin A. Warren. Since then large additions have been made on the east and south, notably among which was that of the sixteenth section adjoining on the south, and which in 1841 came so near falling into Mormon hands and becoming a Mormon city.

Of its original proprietors, not one remains, and but two are known to be living at this date—L. Allen Key, in California, and C. A. Warren, Esq., of Quincy. Mr. Vineyard long ago settled in Western Missouri; John Montague removed to Kentucky many years ago and died there;

ex-Governor Duncan, of Illinois, and Dr. Barrett of St. Louis, are long since dead; and Mr. Aldrich went to California during the gold excitement, and thence to Arizona, where he died a few years since.

By the census of 1845 Warsaw contained a population of only four hundred and two persons. The next largest village in the county was Macedonia, the Mormon town in the Fountain Green Township (now Webster), which had three hundred and eighty. By that census Nauvoo contained eleven thousand and thirty-six.

The sixteenth section was sold at an early day to speculators for over seventeen thousand dollars, but the purchasers being unable to stand up to the bargain, a special act of legislature was procured, allowing the tract to revert to township. It was while in these men's hands, it came so near being purchased by the Mormon prophet. In course of time, however, the tract was again sold in blocks, and the whole section is now included within the city limits, and considerably improved.

Among the earlier settlers from Europe, now recollected, were George Clark and his sons from Ireland; Adam Swiffel, Joseph Ochsner, Christopher Stevens, Claus Albers, John F. Spitze, Andrew Swinehart, Henry J. Stroh, Henry P. Roth, John Long, William A. Katz, Caspar Hartmann, Frank Herberts, Charles C. Hoppe, Charles Hilker, Mathew Goddertz, A. & C. Eymann, William Euler, Peter Brill, M. Berdolt, W. Schmitz and others from Germany.

Of those native birth, beside the proprietors already named, the following occur to us: Isham Cochran, Daniel S. Witter, James Gregg, Jesse R. Cunningham, Mr. Chamberlin, Andrew Monroe, James A. Wells, William H. Roosevelt, Malcolm McGregor, Thomas Morrison, Dr. Morrison, Dr. Joseph Wilkinson, Calvin A. Warren, Rev. Benjamin F. Morris, T. N. Reynolds, John Hill, John D. Mellen, Homer Mellen, Amos H. Worthen, James L. Kimball, Samuel W. Brown, Isaac H. Brown, John E. Johnston, Abram I. Chittenden and sons, George, Edward, Abram B., James and William, George Rockwell, Robert L. Robertson, William Ayers, Calvin Cole, James H. Wood, David W. Mathews, Robert Miller, R. B. Davis, Edward A. Bedell, William N. Grover, Jacob C. Davis, John Scott, Samuel Mussetter, William F. Barnes, Joshua Cole,—all of whom came previous to 1840. Of these, and numbers of others, whose names do not now occur to us, a few remain, twenty-six of them are known to be dead, and barely six remain in the place.

At one time there were eight hundred milk cows in Warsaw all of which ran at large in the flats near the river. When floods came and industries invaded their pastures they were driven up on the bluffs east of the California Gardens, and this section has since been known as "cow-quarters," although the cement highways and finest residences have replaced the cows.

Warsaw was the shipping center to which the majority of all early settlers came by boats, but real passenger trade opened in 1852, when the upper river became navigable to St. Paul.

Tramp steamers or independents were charged five dollars for every landing—excepting the icebreaker. All tried to be first and escape wharfage. Warsaw was quite important as a landing, as the farmers bought hogs and grain, and took flour, lumber and dry goods; boots and shoes came from sixty to seventy miles both east and west.

Large fields were now cultivated for corn which was utilized for food and liquor. Martin Papel and his wife began brewing beer in their kitchen and soon enlarged their trade to the establishment of the Brewery which bore his name and Schott and Brothers then founded the "Union Brewery" so named because they were loyal to the Union.

Demand for barrels for lard, wine, whiskey, apples, fruit, and beer, as well as for hogsheads and kegs, increased. Besides supplying the local trade, empties were shipped to Omaha, St. Louis, and Kansas City. The beer barrels were made of two inch staves drawn together by brass or iron cables and all were hand made.

During one season in the 60's fifteen thousand barrels of apples were shipped to southern markets.

The first school was a private one taught by Dr. and Mrs. Holmes. They also had a school where foreigners might learn English before public schools were established for children. When the population of Warsaw was between five-thousand and six-thousand, there were fourteen hundred children in the public schools.

The first church was Episcopal. No sooner were the Indians out of the way until the Mormons began to invade this settlement. The earliest mail carrier was a Mormon. He would rob the mails and then accuse the Gentiles of doing it. Dr. Holden was a prominent Mormon doctor in Rocky Run in the 30's. He penned up neighbors' stock, butchered their pigs, ate their fowl and declared the Lord had given these things to him.

The Mormon spies damaged property, coaxed away the women and offended the citizens of Warsaw until they were in sympathy with the Gentiles about Nauvoo who finally dispelled the Mormons.

Other industries included foundries, planing mills, lumber yards, flour mills, woolen mills, breweries, shoe factories, distilleries, cooperages, meat packing, shipping and rail roading. At one time, three dozen shoe makers supplied the town with hand made shoes, and there were one dozen tailor shops before sewing machines were used. Journeyman tailors went to out-lying settlements by regular appointments—to cut out men's clothing.

In 1850, Warsaw was paying more internal revenue than St. Louis.

In the Spring of 1840, Daniel N. White, Editor and Publisher of the Pittsburgh Gazette, at the insistence of his brother-in-law, Daniel S. Witter, of the Warsaw Steam Flouring mill, was induced to bring a press there and commence the publication of a paper which he called "The Western World." It was a six column weekly at two dollars per year. At the end of six months he retired, selling his establishment to T. C. Sharp, Esquire, and James Gamble, a journey-man printer—(Gregg's History of Hancock County.)

Major Edwards invented a sewing machine, and went to England very rich. The Wood Harvester works moved to New York State and it is still operating independently.

Foundries and machine shops were important as Warsaw was at this time the terminal for the T. P. and W. Railway, and two other roads were definitely expected to be operated.

In 1849, Theodore Ochner went West in the gold rush, became wealthy and returned to Warsaw, establishing the "California Gardens," just east of the original plat of the town of Warsaw. This section lay between Trench Town and Moulder's Flats and was extensively improved by the owner who built eighteen residences and pavillions, plazas, dance-halls and beer gardens.

The dances held in the California Gardens were the most interesting social events of the city. The grounds were beautiful and the ladies, usually accompanied by gentlemen, walked to and from these parties.

The ladies wore calico dresses, made with flowing skirts and sunbonnets to match. Calico was then ten cents per yard and during the war it was sixty cents.

California Gardens was the playground for all, but many times factional fights ensued. When drinking and dancing would be well under way, it was the trick of the Irish to steal their partners from the Germans. One short "rouse mit him" and the fight was on— with many a broken head resulting. With the dawn came peace and work and good will until the next encounter.

From the "Warsaw Express and Journal" of Thursday, February 21, 1856 (Editorial.)

"In the last two weeks since the construction of the Warsaw and Rockford, and the Mississippi and Wabash Railroads have been reduced to a certainty, the sales of real estate in our city have been brisk.

Advantages of locality from a business point of view are just being appreciated and men of capital from all quarters are turning their eyes upon us.

That there must be a great city somewhere on the Mississippi between St. Louis and Galena we have full confidence, and we should not be a bit disappointed if Warsaw should turn out to be that point."

The market report in this paper, November 15, 1855 gives following quotations:

Wheat	$1.00–$1.50 per bushel
Oats	.25 per bushel
Corn	.25 per bushel
Meal	.70 per bushel
Lard	.12 per pound
Eggs	.12 per dozen
Potatoes	$0.35 to $0.50 per bushel
Onions	.70 per bushel
Beans	1.50 per bushel
Feathers	.40 per pound
Candles	.16 per mould
Turnips	.20 per bushel
Wood	3.00 per cord

Other business offers include: brass kettles of different sizes, wool, cotton and hemp carpeting; well buckets, wooden bowls and tubs; delaine and bleached goods, rope and bed cords, pint flasks, jars, pipes and tumblers; hair dye, tobacco, melodeons, and winter bonnets.

Doctors were free to advertise openly that they were willing to practice medicine in all its branches.

Although the construction of the two railroads mentioned seemed such a certainty and the local industries seemed to warrant their construction, they were never built, and the decline of Warsaw dates from that decision.

The final blow to its hope of extended transportation came in '72 when three men, Ingersoll, Hill, and Carnegie gave their influence in locating the river bridge at Keokuk. The ferries and river boats and the "spur" of the T. P. and W. Railroad could not compete with the facilities for shipping at Keokuk. The distilleries had also been discontinued and the population is now only about two thousand, and the town has succumbed to the apathy that seems the inevitable fate of mid-west villages.

During the Civil War, the Federal Government levied a revenue of two dollars per gallon on all whiskey or high spirits, giving the manufacturers one year's time to produce at the old rate cost of eighteen cents per gallon. The distilleries ran twenty-four hour shifts (full time) filling all local cellars and containers and then the distilleries mysteriously burned about the same time, and liquor raised to two dollars and fifty cents per gallon selling price. Several hundred acres of grapes and vineyards set out by Swiss and German settlers made wine for local use and shipping.

Jefferson Davis, who was stationed at Fort Edwards and who was a son-in-law of Zachary Taylor, Amos Worthen, State Geologist and friend of Abraham Lincoln, John Hay and Colonel B. F. Marsh are the most illustrious sons.

About 1841, Dr. Charles Hay moved to Warsaw from Salem, Indiana. It was in this town that John Hay, his son, was to spend many of his boyhood days and begin his education.

After attending school for a time, away from Warsaw, John Hay returned and became a newsboy for the only paper that Warsaw could boast of, the Warsaw Signal.

Ole Bull, violinist, and Adelina Patti, singer, gave a joint concert in Warsaw in the Fort Edwards House in 1856.

The Fort Edwards House was a four-story, brick hotel. For this concert, a stage was improvised in the dining room by placing tables together. The bar was a part of any tavern in that day, and went on with business during the concert.

Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, who was attorney for the T. P. and W. (he spent much time in Warsaw) Andrew Carnegie, who was President of Keystone Bridge Company of Pittsburg, and Henry Hill, a prominent financier were influential in placing the bridge (in 1873) at Hamilton instead of at Warsaw.

Rivalry was strong.

Warsaw was at the foot of the rapids and all freight had to be transferred until the canal was built in 1866, at close of the Civil War.

Mark Twain worked for Galloway and Son on the old "Warsaw Express" in 1855.

Fannie Smith, who was a school teacher in Warsaw, married Edgar (Bill) Nye.

Today there are remnants of that early pioneering yet to be seen—fertile fields and gardens cover "stump town"—a portion of the Fort Edwards House gives evidence of its past dignity. Irish lawn and Alber's Mill are but traditions, although crumbling walls of stone and terraced hills tell the traveler that those quiet places were peopled in another day.

Founders Flats and California Gardens now resemble the side streets of any other Mid-west town. The comfortable homes of the descendants of those early families, which are built along the bluff of the "great bend," bespeak the progress of the years and the sturdiness of those forebears who bequeathed to these descendants not only the fruits of their labors, but the love for the beauty of this scenery.

A tall, marble shaft, erected by joint appropriations from the city of Warsaw and the State of Illinois, marks the site of Fort Edwards and is visible on a clear day from the great dam and bridge at Keokuk, six miles above the bluff. This inscription is upon the south side of the monument:

"Erected September 1914 to commemorate the establishment of Fort Edwards built by Major Zachary Taylor, 3rd U. S. Infantry September, 1814. Abandoned July, 1824."

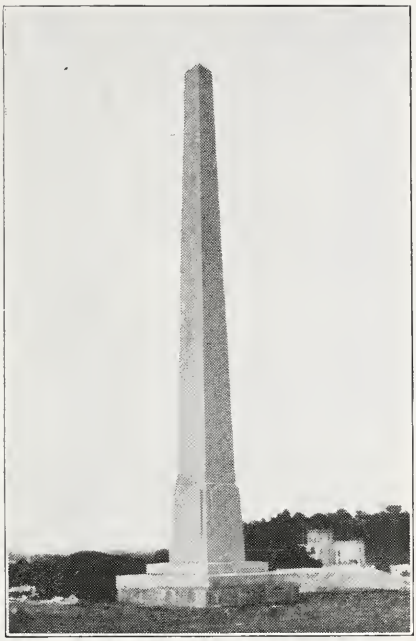
Phillip Dallam was the chairman of the board for the erection of the monument.

Where Indian tepees stood and sail boats brought first settlers, the mighty river spreads its silver sheen, and seems to enjoy a greater liberty after escaping the confinement enforced by the great dam above the rapids—and, like the River of Life, flows ever onward to that greater outlet, carrying the burden of the years on its mighty bosom and keeping the secrets of the centuries safe beneath its murmuring tide.

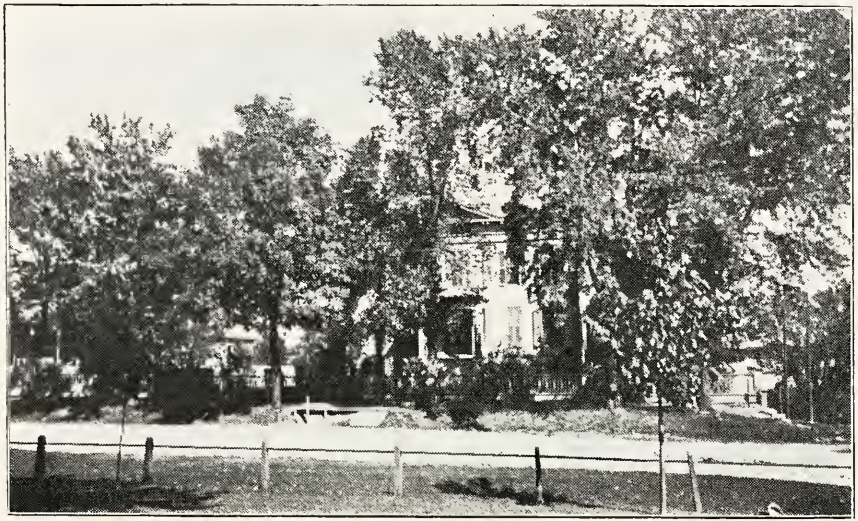
From Gregg's Dollar Monthly, published 1874 is taken this "Legend of the Wishing Spring." "This spring in the northern part of the city of Warsaw, Hancock County, is said to possess medicinal properties, imparted to it in this manner: Wa-pa-las, a chief of the Winnebagoes, lay at the point of death. His sweetheart, On-wee, sat beside the tent fire with her head bowed upon her knees, moaning and sobbing as she wildly implored the Great Spirit to save her lover. Worn with grief, she fell asleep and the Great Spirit stood before her and said: 'Redden the waters of yonder spring with the heartblood of a human victim, and at the rising of the sun, bathe the chief therein, and he shall live.' On-wee looked upon the wasted form of her betrothed and kissed his pallid cheeks and then roused the sleeping crone who was watching the sick man and made her promise to bathe his body in the spring at sunrise. In the morning the maiden's body was found beside the spring

John Hay residence in Warsaw.

First school attended by John Hay, now used as American Legion Hall.



Monument erected by State of Illinois and city of Warsaw on site of Ft. Edwards.



Home of Dr. Charles Hay, father of John Hay.

which was crimson with her heart's blood which had flowed from a self-inflicted wound. The chief recovered (and it is further related, married the daughter of an Ottowa chief and lived thereafter in great peace and contentment)."

Warsaw is not only a beautifully situated town—many travelers agree that this section of the Mississippi rivals the beauty and grandeur of the Hudson—but it has made a definite contribution to the world of art in Illinois.

A car load of clay from Warsaw's river bluffs was sent to Lorado Taft and his associates in the Midway Studios of Chicago, where it is used as modeling clay by these sculptors. Is it too much to say that this clay represents the spirit of those who have gone to other localities from Warsaw and helped to mold the life and timber of our nation?

RUSSEL FARNHAM, ASTORIAN

By Frank Erwin Brandt
Associate Editor of The Rock Island (Illinois) Argus

This paper represents an attempt on my part to set down some of the more essential facts in the career of Russel Farnham, Astorian, gentleman of fortune, adventurer, explorer and Indian fur trader, who was forced by circumstances to become in addition, a world traveler and one who accomplished the feat of encircling the globe by the overland route.

The rivers and streams of the great northwest including the mighty Mississippi and many of its tributaries felt the stroke of his canoe paddle; his face came to be a familiar one to the Indians of his day, not only to the red men of the Mississippi valley, but to those who dwelt in the Oregon country, and in what is now known as Saskatchewan and in Alaska. He mingled with the savages at Mackinac as freely and as fearlessly as he did with those who made their habitat along the Mississippi and the Missouri. His tired feet traversed the frozen swamps and wastes of Siberia and the vast Russian steppes. His wanderings took him to Copenhagen, Denmark where his name appears upon a passport issued by the police authorities as far back in history as 1816, one hundred and fourteen years ago. His name figures prominently in Washington Irving's "Astoria," and the writers of less known literature, intrigued and fascinated by his story have endeavored to preserve fragments of it for the benefit of posterity. Historical societies of more than a few states have welcomed either traditional or more authoritative data concerning this remarkable man.

The soldiers of old Fort Armstrong, erected in 1816 on the Island of Rock Island, anciently known as "Rocky Island," on the Mississippi, knew Farnham, as did those of the military establishment of Fort Edwards and Fort Crawford on the "Father of Waters," Fort Holmes at Mackinac, and many other posts and fortresses of that period. He was often seen in the picturesque setting afforded in St. Louis, city wherein he claimed his bride to whom he was married in the old Catholic cathedral and where later the priests commended his soul to his Maker when death struck him down in the very prime of life, but not before he had drunk deep of what life had to offer and had enjoyed certain periods of retirement and domestic joys at his plantation at Portage des Sioux in St. Charles County, Missouri.

This product of New England little dreamed where Fate would take him, when in 1810 as a clerk for John Jacob Astor in New York City, he embarked upon his journey to Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River at the command of his distinguished employer. But

RUSSEL FARNHAM.

the name of Russel Farnham came to be imprinted on the records of many a community, and perhaps on no community more than that now known as Rock Island, Illinois, where many abstracts of title run back to this famous Astorian. His name appears also in the records of the war department in connection with the Indians, the extensive fur trade once carried on, and the reports received from military posts.

Yet, it is my belief, that apart from his picture which hangs in the Jefferson memorial in St. Louis, there is nowhere any historical and commemorative monument of any sort to Russel Farnham erected by any individual, group or municipality. I have not even been able to ascertain where Mr. Farnham sleeps "the long sleep," nor do I at present believe that anyone else has been able to locate the grave of the man who traversed part of the famous route once taken by Lewis and Clarke, and whose wanderings took him beyond the goal of that early expedition to far flung regions overseas.

I incline to the opinion that the surviving relics of Russel Farnham are in Missouri soil, most probably in St. Louis, either among the unidentified remains of some, whose bodies, which once had been interred in a cemetery that was later abandoned, and which were placed under the altar of St. Bridget's Roman Catholic church, or reposing, unknown to all, in some section of St. Louis once devoted to purposes of burial by the Roman Catholic communion. I do not know positively that Russel Farnham was a member of that communion, but the records of his marriage and his funeral, both events taking place at the historic Roman Catholic cathedral in St. Louis, are preserved.

In handling my subject, it is my desire to lay before you, first, what I prefer to call the "tradition" in regard to Russel Farnham, as that tradition exists in Rock Island, Illinois. In December, 1925, when the Rock Island Argus commemorated its 75th year of publication and began to occupy a new plant, it fell to my lot to compile most of the historical section of a commemorative edition containing in all more than 350 pages. In filling my assignment, it became necessary to write the story of Russel Farnham. The material at my command at that time consisted almost exclusively of a historical article entitled "Russel Farnham," written by the late Orrin S. Holt of Rock Island, and published in Issue No. 3, Volume No. 9 of the Journal of the Illinois State historical society for October 1916, beginning on page 284. The substance of Holt's interesting narrative I made the basis of various addresses about Farnham which I delivered before civic clubs and other groups in Rock Island and Moline, Illinois, and in Davenport, Iowa.

It was my privilege to discuss the history of Farnham with the late Phil Mitchell, distinguished Rock Island pioneer and banker, who had known the late Bailey Davenport, early Rock Island resident, and son of Col. George Davenport, Farnham's business partner, well. Bailey Davenport had heard from Farnham's own mouth some of the more interesting details of Farnham's career, and he, in turn, had communicated them to Mr. Mitchell. These details corroborated the account of Farnham's career written by Orrin S. Holt. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that the Holt narrative is lacking in some important

details, which at that time were perhaps not obtainable. While I do not assert that Mr. Holt's narrative is untrustworthy, in fact, it would be impossible to maintain such a charge against his article as a whole, I think it represents to a considerable degree the Farnham "tradition." While in the main, it may be substantially correct, I feel that in some respects it lacks authentic corroboration. On the other hand, much of Mr. Holt's data is abundantly authenticated.

Mr. Holt's story of Russel Farnham, in much abbreviated form relating only to the principal events in Farnham's life (I omit the less important features), is about as follows:

Farnham is said to have been a native of New Haven, Connecticut, and it is said that to him belongs the distinction of having been the first to encircle the globe by the overland route. He was also probably the first American to visit the Saskatchewan country and inland Alaska. As a pioneer of western Illinois, he came to the vicinity of Fort Armstrong on the Island of Rock Island in 1824, a few years after its establishment, and several years in advance of any other white settler, except the hunter and trapper, Antoine Gouque, and those connected with the military post. In company with Colonel George Davenport, he built the first house on the mainland near Fort Armstrong as early as 1826. In company with Colonel Davenport, he entered the first piece of government land in what is now Rock Island county, described as section 2, township 17, range 2, west of the fourth principal meridian. The entry bears the date of October 19, 1829.

After mentioning these facts, the Holt narrative refers to the Louisiana purchase by the United States government and to the Lewis and Clark expedition sent across the continent to investigate the nature and value of the new territory. When the reports of that expedition were made public, John Jacob Astor, the great fur trader, thought he saw an opportunity for business expansion. He determined on an exploring expedition of his own to establish the feasibility of a line of trading posts across the new country. Among the numerous employes in his New York office, Astor chose Russel Farnham to head the expedition which was to go over the Lewis and Clark route. At that time, Farnham was only twenty-three years old, a tall light complexioned young man, with light curly hair and brown eyes. Farnham proceeded to St. Louis by way of the route across the Alleghany mountains, down the Ohio to its mouth and up the Mississippi, and in St. Louis organized a company of seventy whites and half-breeds. In St. Louis, he stopped at the tavern of a Frenchman named Charles Bosseron (or Bosserou), who had an Indian wife, and a comely daughter, Susan, then in her teens. The dark-eyed beauty made a lasting impression on the blond adventurer.

In the summer of 1807 (1810 according to Washington Irving's book "Astoria"), Farnham started with his men on the journey up the Missouri River to its headwaters, enroute to the far away Columbia River, down which he designed to float to its mouth. In the meantime, Astor sent two sailing vessels around Cape Horn to meet him when he reached the Pacific and bring him home. But at the mouth of the Milk river,

Farnham had to wait for spring because of snows and storms. With his band reduced to thirty, he finally reached the mouth of the Columbia with the loss of all his men but seven. The Indians being hostile, he had to abandon his boats and take to the highlands on foot. This retarded his progress.

Arriving at the mouth of the Columbia late in October, 1808, the two ships sent by Astor were there, but were floating out of the river's mouth to sea chased by a horde of savages in canoes. The commander of the vessels had despaired of Farnham's arrival. Reduced to three, the Farnham party waited three weeks hoping the ships would return, but as this did not happen, they tried to retrace their steps homeward. By midsummer, when Farnham came to the place where he had wintered, his two companions had perished.

He was plodding on alone when he was captured by a band of northern Indians. They took him to their own country, three or four hundred miles to the northward in the Saskatchewan country. There he was in captivity for four years, working with the squaws and learning the Indian language.

Once a year, this tribe went to a Russian trading post in southern Alaska, near the coast. In the fourth year of his captivity, Farnham was allowed to accompany them, and at the post, he met the Russian fur company's agent and pleaded with him to bring about his release. The trader was unwilling to take such a risk, but he agreed to take charge of a letter that Farnham directed to Astor. Poor Farnham was taken back to the Indian country for three more years of captivity, while his letter traveled from post to post, up the Alaskan coast, across Behring's Strait to Siberia, then to Russia, then to St. Petersburg and Copenhagen and across the Atlantic to New York.

On receiving Farnham's letter, Astor was successful, through the Russian Fur Company, in securing Farnham's release. Farnham on his homeward journey took the same route as his letter. Mr. Holt says little is known of the details of that journey, and the next information is furnished by the original passport on which he traveled home. It was issued by the police authorities of Copenhagen, and is dated October 16, 1816. It refers to Farnham as then being thirty-two years of age, describes him, and says he intends to go to the port of Baltimore. The original passport was in the collection of the late Ben T. Cable of Rock Island. A facsimile of the passport is found accompanying Mr. Holt's article, so I do not incorporate it in this paper. Mr. Holt records that Astor received Farnham most cordially on his return, paid him his salary for the full time of his absence and reinstated him in the New York office.

But Farnham found office work irksome after his outdoor life, so he resigned and started west to engage in the fur business on his own account. His choice of location was St. Louis partly because his thoughts turned longingly to the Bosseron tavern and the landlord's dark-skinned daughter whom he had not seen for so many years. For his route to St. Louis, he went by way of the Hudson, Lake Champlain, the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes to Green Bay from where he followed the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to the Mississippi as Marquette and

Joliet had done about one hundred forty years before. Like them he passed the Island of Rock Island, and Holt takes it for granted that Farnham went on shore and made the acquaintance of Colonel George Davenport, the Indian trader, thereby preparing the way for their subsequent partnership. On arrival at St. Louis, Farnham found Astor occupying the territory under some kind of an agreement with the government as to trading west of the river, so he returned northward, after a visit, presumably, to the fair Susan Bosseron.

It is recorded by Holt that Farnham's next stop was at Warsaw, Illinois, but not for long, as in 1824, he came to Fort Armstrong and entered into business with Colonel Davenport whose business house was on the island near the fort. The new firm erected a building on the Illinois shore of the Mississippi in 1826, the first to be built anywhere in the vicinity except at the military post. This structure later became known as the "house of John Barrel" although who Barrel was, I do not know. The section of the community lying nearest to this house was known as Farnhamsburg. The house was of logs and of the pioneer style of architecture with big fireplace and outside chimneys at the ends. There was but one story with an attic above. This house had the distinction of being the first tavern, first stage station (Frank & Walker) the first postoffice (except at the fort), the place of the first county election and the first county office. It continued to be the most important spot in the locality until the town of Stephenson was platted by authority of the state to become the county seat of Rock Island County in 1835. The present city of Rock Island includes both the old towns of Stephenson and Farnhamsburg, and much other territory including the old Indian town of Saukenuk. Holt tells us that after Farnham located in Rock Island, he continued his visits to St. Louis and that he and Susan Bosseron were married in 1827 or 1828. It is chronicled by Holt that Farnham died in 1832 at the age of 48, his life being probably shortened by the hardships of his long trip. His wife died, Holt says, a year or so later, and their only child, Charles, died in 1848. Therese Bosseron, Mrs. Farnham's mother, was still alive in 1859. Charles Bosseron, her husband, died in 1826. Therese Bosseron inherited the Farnham estate through the grandson, who outlived both his parents, but not his grandmother.

Mr. Holt says that part of the facts he relates are preserved in a clipping from the old Chicago Times, in the collection of J. D. Sperry of Rock Island. The article in the Times was written by Edward Judd, a lawyer, who came across the strange story of Farnham in tracing land titles back to pioneer times. Judd interviewed Bailey Davenport, son of Colonel George Davenport, who had known Farnham well and had heard him relate his experiences, and Bailey Davenport satisfied Judd's curiosity, the Times publishing the interview. Holt adds that the records of Rock Island county contain much information on the subject, particularly in the affidavits of Antoine Le Claire, the government interpreter, Bailey Davenport and others filed in a suit brought to divide the section 2 before mentioned between the heirs of Farnham and Colonel Davenport. Holt expresses his opinion in conclusion, that the

memory of Russel Farnham deserves to be preserved along with those of Daniel Boone and Kit Carson as "a more romantic and interesting story would be hard to find, even in fiction." He does not forget to mention that the historic John Barrel house was the nucleus of a settlement which was named Farnhamsburg in honor of Russel Farnham.

Such is the traditional story of the career of Russel Farnham which finds acceptance in Rock Island. It may be that it should be modified in some of its details, and clarified in the interest of historical accuracy.

In this connection, I want to express my great obligation to Stella M. Drumm, librarian of the Missouri historical society, with whom I have had considerable correspondence and who has done all in her power to aid me in preparing this paper. She made it possible for me, in the first instance, to secure a copy of her valuable article entitled "More About Astorians," published in No. 4, volume 24, of the quarterly of the Oregon historical society, bearing the date of December 1923. She has also placed in my hands extracts from the very important "Pierre Chouteau Maffitt Collection, 1779-1865," a possession of the Missouri historical society. The portions that relate to Russel Farnham, she copied herself, as she could find no one available for the work. These documents are of the highest value, as they deal with Farnham's activities in and around Rock Island. I am submitting them, with all credit to Stella M. Drumm, as a part of this historical study, and if this paper of mine should be published by the Illinois state historical society, I hope that what Stella M. Drumm compiled for me from this collection, will be published as part and parcel of my paper. Part of the Pierre Chouteau Maffitt papers came from Mrs. Pierre Chouteau Maffitt, and the remainder came from her daughter, Mrs. Robert H. Keiser. The Russel Farnham letters were in the collection given to the Missouri historical society by Mrs. Keiser in July 1926. There are two collections of these papers, about 4,500 documents, and a number of account books, and they cover the period, 1779-1865. The first collection has been calendered, and the two collections are being kept separate for the time being.

I am indebted to Stella M. Drumm for a copy of the letter containing Russel Farnham's answers to some questions propounded by the Secretary of War in 1831, through the Hon. Thomas H. Benton, senator from Missouri. This letter is taken from the Indian report to the Secretary of War in 1831, and was signed by Russel Farnham on November 22, 1831. This letter is also submitted by me as a part of my present paper. I am also filing with the Illinois state historical society at this time, a photograph of Russel Farnham, presented to me by Mr. John H. Hauberg of Rock Island, vice-president of the Illinois state historical society, who from time to time has given me various items of information regarding Russel Farnham and to whom I am very grateful.

Turning now to Stella M. Drumm's paper published by the Oregon historical society, which represents an address she delivered before that society in Portland, Oregon on October 28, 1923, I observe that she refers in the section devoted to Russel Farnham, to an oil portrait of

this Astorian which is hanging in the museum of the Missouri historical society at St. Louis, the label on which bears the legend, "Walked from Oregon to St. Petersburg, 1813-1814." My photograph of Mr. Farnham was evidently taken from this painting as this legend appears upon it.

Stella M. Drumm's paper gives us an account of the career of Russel Farnham which is quite different in some of its details from the traditional account which is current in Rock Island. As I consider her paper, I feel that we are treading on more solid and authentic historical ground. She refers her readers to the minute book of the Pacific Fur Company; to a letter from Charles Gratiot, St. Louis, May 31, 1812, to John Jacob Astor; to a letter from Ramsay Crooks to Anthony Dudgeon, New York, June 26, 1856; to John F. Darby's "Personal Recollections of Many Prominent People," St. Louis 1880; to the "Early History of St. Louis and Missouri," St. Louis, 1870; to a "Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America" by Gabriel Franchere; to "Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River" by Alexander Ross; to "New Light on Early History of the Greater Northwest" by Elliott Coues; to Letters of Thomas Forsythe and William Clark in the possession of the Missouri historical society; and to Wisconsin historical society collections, Volumes 19 and 20.

This comment is made upon the legend appearing on the oil painting of Farnham: "Upon reading this statement one might well exclaim, 'Remarkable, if true!' It has been questioned many times of course, but anyone referring to our local history will find it verified. They say that he walked from St. Louis to St. Petersburg. These accounts would be more nearly exact if they did not picture him as walking across the frozen Straits. The truth about Farnham is stranger than fiction, and this fable detracts from, instead of adding to, his just fame."

From Stella M. Drumm's account, I gather, first of all, that the occasion for Farnham's remarkable journey was the desire to avoid capture by the British and to convey important dispatches, and possibly drafts, to Mr. Astor. There were various partners in the great fur-trading enterprise which Mr. Astor directed, whom I need not mention in detail here.

Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia, founded by these partners, at the instance of John Jacob Astor, was the scene of a notable gathering on November 12, 1813. All the partners, save one, W. P. Hunt, sold out in a moment of despair, to the Northwest Company for $58,000. After deducting wages, this balance, together with the records, had to be sent to New York. Mr. Hunt, who meanwhile had returned, embarked with Farnham, J. C. Halsey, Alfred Seton and Bernard Clapp, on the brig, Pedlar. They were compelled to stay at anchor until April 3, 1814, on account of winds. Farnham was landed at Kamchatka in Siberia, and Halsey at Sitka. Hunt and Seton remained on the boat, which was captured off the coast of California and held for two months.

From Kamchatka, Farnham started on his long journey to New York, according to the Drumm account, walking through Russia and

most of Europe. Some accounts, in fact most of them, say that he sailed from Hamburg to New York by way of the West Indies. His passport shows, however, that he sailed from Copenhagen. The Drumm account quotes the words of this passport, so the Rock Island tradition as to Farnham, in this instance, is fully sustained.

It is cited that John F. Darby, who served as the final administrator of the estate of Russel Farnham, says that Farnham had been intrusted with sterling bills on London for about $40,000 together with dispatches. Mr. Hunt had directed him to proceed by way of St. Petersburg that the bills might be collected for the benefit of Mr. Astor. It is recounted that Farnham, with a small stock of provisions in a pack on his back, started on foot, across the Russian dominions, on his way to St. Petersburg. He endured incredible sufferings, from hunger, want and exposure, and once from dire necessity he was forced to cut and eat the tops off his boots in order to sustain life. He performed a feat which "for personal bravery, danger and daring, has never been equalled by any one man in ancient or modern times. He did that which Ledyard, the great American traveler, had failed in twice, viz: To come east (that is, find a passage) from St. Petersburg to the American continent."

The Drumm article says that after Farnham returned to the United States, he continued in the employ of Mr. Astor, and when the American Fur Company resumed operations after the War of 1812, Farnham bore the brunt of the battle during the company's struggle to establish itself on the Missouri. "To him, belongs the credit of being the first fur trader in the employ of the American Fur Company (Mr. Astor's company) to carry the business of that company into the valley of the Missouri."

The forces of that company were largely recruited from Montreal, and Farnham's outfit was composed for the most part of Canadians when he was assigned in 1817 to manage the business of the Mississippi and its dependencies. The Missouri Fur Company, and especially one, Manuel Lisa, one of the chief owners, tried to keep Mr. Astor's company out of the Missouri country. An act was passed by congress in 1816 excluding British traders although it did not prevent foreigners from serving the American traders. Colonel Talbot Chambers, stationed at Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, denied foreigners permission to accompany American traders down the Mississippi. He would only recognize licenses issued by the governers of the Missouri and Illinois territories. He seized upon two boats belonging to the American Fur Company in command of Russel Farnham and Daniel Darling. These men and their boats were ordered to proceed to Fort Bellefontaine, not far from St. Louis, and report to General Clark. On board the boats, were two notorious characters, one, a man named St. John, who had boasted of having hoisted the scalps of three Americans on his boat during the War of 1812. When Farnham and Darling were on their way to Des Moines to trade, Colonel Chambers insisted that they secure a license from General Clark. He wrote that Farnham and Darling

"appeared to be hardened rascals" in a letter to Major Morgan in command of Fort Armstrong at Rock Island. When Morgan heard that Farnham was to trade with the Indians three miles below the fort, he put Farnham and his men under arrest and sent them to St. Louis under guard of a band of soldiers. This arrest was reported to the President of the United States and Mr. Astor's company brought suit, recovering damages in the sum of $5,000.

The Drumm account continues with the statement that in March, 1819, Farnham started up the Missouri. Ramsay Crooks, one of the Astoria partners, wrote him, "There is nothing to prevent your going into the Missouri country now with your Canadians." Farnham must have been relieved of this duty because in 1821 and 1822, he was again assigned to trade on the Mississippi. The next year, he was with the Sauk outfit with headquarters at Fort Armstrong in partnership with Colonel George Davenport, under the firm name of Farnham and Davenport, having a store on Rock Island as agents for the American Fur Company.

It is recorded that Farnham made many visits to St. Louis and served as a witness to the treaty between the United States and the Kansas Indians in 1825. On one of these visits, according to the Drumm narrative, he met pretty Susan Bosseron, daughter of Charles Bosseron, "an early French settler of wealth and respectability. Their marriage took place at the old cathedral in St. Louis, October 27, 1829. The church register contains an entry that he was born in Massachusetts and also gives the names of his parents."

At that time, Farnham considered himself to be a resident of St. Louis, but in 1821 he had acquired land in the village of Portage des Sioux in St. Charles county, Missouri, where most of the treaties with the Mississippi and Missouri valley Indians were signed. There he maintained a well stocked farm, and a beautiful home, which, among other luxuries, contained a piano. He also owned slaves.

It seems that he went east in the early part of 1832 and upon his return remained at home for a time and then went by boat to Forts Armstrong and Edwards to look after the trade with the Indians and to supply the military posts with guns and provisions. Returning to St. Louis in October of that year, he was stricken with cholera and died within two hours, on the 23rd of the month.

Ramsay Crooks, hearing of this death, wrote to Pierre Chouteau, Jr.: "Poor Farnham! He has paid the debt of nature after a life of uncommon activity and endless exposure. Peace to his remains. He underwent greater privations than any half dozen of us. He was one of the best meaning, but the most sanguine man I almost ever met with."

The Drumm article records that Farnham was born in Massachusetts in 1784, the son of John Farnham and Susan Chapin. "He was a typical frontiersman of the better class, energetic and resourceful, and was respected alike by his employers, comrades and opponents." It is affirmed he joined the sea expedition of the Pacific Fur Company, in the capacity of a clerk, and sailed on the Tonquin. In the Oregon country, he had many thrilling adventures. He was in an Indian fight

at the Dalles. He assisted in building a fort near Spokane, and in 1812-13 he wintered among the Flatheads, crossing the Rocky Mountains with this tribe to the headwaters of the Missouri. In the treaty between the United States and the Sacs and Foxes made September 21, 1832, it was provided that at the earnest request of the Indians, Farnham and Davenport should be paid $40,000 in satisfaction of their claims against the tribe for articles of necessity furnished them during the seven preceding years. The Missouri Historical Society has a number of letters written by Farnham, one of them being in French. "They indicate that he was a man of education and that he had a good knowledge of the French language."

"How short-lived is popular enthusiasm and hero-worship!" remarks Stella M. Drumm. "During the campaigns for governor of the new state of Missouri, in 1820, the followers of General William Clark urged his election because 'He had been to the Pacific Ocean and had seen and faced many hostile Indians.' An opposition paper scornfully printed an editorial to the effect that having seen the Pacific Ocean was not a sufficient qualification; that Wilson P. Hunt had also been there, but was considered unfit for a seat in the constitutional convention and was actually defeated. The editor further stated 'We doubt very much if Russel Farnham, who had been to the Pacific Ocean and who is the only man who has circumnavigated the globe overland in northern latitudes, would be thought to be entitled to the office of governor of Missouri.'"

In reading the Drumm narrative, I was much interested to learn that one of seven Astorians who on April 30, 1813, arrived in St. Louis after a journey of more than 1,500 miles on foot, was Robert McClellan. This party had left Astoria June 29, 1812, with dispatches for Astor. McClellan was one of Farnham's comrades on the great expedition to Astoria. He had served as a spy under General Anthony Wayne and had performed deeds of valor in Indian campaigns. After the disbanding of Wayne's army following the battle of Fallen Timbers, McClellan made his home with a brother at Hamilton, Ohio, where I was born, and I have in my library a sketch of McClellan written by James McBride, a pioneer of Butler County, Ohio. McClellan died November 22, 1815. He was born near Mercerburg, Pennsylvania, in 1770. In 1875, his tombstone was unearthed on the old Clark farm in St. Louis County, Missouri. It contained the inscription: "To the memory of Capt. Robert McClellan. This stone is erected by a friend who knew him to be brave, honest and sincere; an intrepid warrior whose services deserve perpetual remembrance. A. D. 1816." The friend who erected the tombstone was most probably General William Clark, his comrade of Indian campaigns, as the tombstone was on the old Clark farm.

There are references to Russel Farnham in Washington Irving's "Astoria." At the request of his personal friend, John Jacob Astor, Mr. Irving wrote a most interesting narrative of Mr. Astor's great project and for material, he says he had the journals and letters of the adventurers in Mr. Astor's employ. He states that Mr. Astor had four principal partners in the Astoria enterprise, Alexander McKay, Duncan McDougal, Donald McKenzie and Wilson P. Hunt. The two

Astor expeditions, one by land and the other by sea, are followed in detail. Hunt was to command the land expedition and the other three partners sailed in the Tonquin which doubled Cape Horn, careering across the bosom of the Pacific.

On page 343 of the author's revised edition of "Astoria" published in 1856, I find a reference to Farnham as a "clerk" in the land expedition. A clerk, Irving explained early in his narrative, served an apprenticeship of seven years, passing his probation at some interior post, "removed for years from civilized society, leading a life almost as wild and precarious as the savages around him; exposed to the severities of a northern winter, often suffering from a scarcity of food, and sometimes destitute for a long time of both bread and salt." The comment is made that "most of the clerks were young men of good families from the highlands of Scotland." Farnham is first mentioned by Irving as the companion of Donald McGilles. The two, conducted by a guide and accompanied by eight men, were to go to Caldron Linn after some merchandise and other effects left there as a secret deposit by Mr. Hunt, and which were to be brought to Astoria, and Mr. Irving writes of their adventures on this journey. They found the secret deposit had been rifled of its contents in large part.

The Drumm narrative states that Farnham sailed on the Tonquin, a vessel which met with a tragic fate at Vancouver's Island when it was set upon by Indians. Irving refers to the loss of the crew in that disaster and of the blowing up of the Tonquin when it was set on fire. It had always been my impression that Farnham was a member of the land expedition which started from St. Louis for the mouth of the Columbia. Under date of April 30, 1930, Miss Drumm informed me by letter that her authority for the statement that Farnham sailed on the Tonquin is to be found in Franchere, Gabriel, a "Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the years 1811, 1812, 1813 and 1814," where on page 30 is a list of the passengers, clerks and boatmen. She says this ship arrived at Baker's Bay in April, 1811, and in June started on its fatal voyage up the coast. She adds that "of course Farnham was a member of various expeditions going out from Fort Astoria."

It may well be that Farnham was on the Tonquin, but escaped the fate that befell so many on that vessel, and was later with land expeditions, in fact, it is certain from Washington Irving's "Astoria" that he was with land expeditions. The affirmation that he sailed on the Tonquin does not square, however, with the persistent tradition that he started with the original land expedition from St. Louis. The tradition may be at fault, and Farnham may have met his future wife, Susan Bosseron, on a later occasion. The Drumm narrative says that Farnham was in an Indian fight at the Dalles, when a tin case containing dispatches for Astor, was stolen, and that he was one of the party which pursued and captured deserters, but Irving does not mention him in such connections, by name at least. But Irving's story is a very rambling one and I take it that the Drumm narrative must be based on other authentic data regarding Farnham's activities on this famous expedition.

Irving states that one of the partners in the interior fur trading posts, a Mr. Clarke, started with his men for a rendezvous at the mouth

of the Wallah Wallah on the way to Astoria with peltries. At the confluence of the Pavion and Lewis rivers, a barge and some canoes had been left in charge of a Pierced-Nose Indian chief. Encamping near the Indian village to make some repairs, a wary watch was kept on the Indians because of their pilfering propensities. Clarke, according to Irving, was a tall, good-looking man much given to pomp and circumstance. He had a silver goblet out of which he would drink with a magnificent air and then lock up with care. The goblet had been a present from Mr. Astor to McKay, the partner who had been blown up in the Tonquin.

One night, Mr. Clarke forgot to lock up his treasure, and in the morning, the precious relic was gone. The culprit, an Indian, was captured and Clarke passed sentence of death upon him. Washington Irving, in chapter 53 of "Astoria," describes the Indian's execution as follows:

"Farnham, a clerk, a tall 'Green Mountain boy' from Vermont, who had been robbed of a pistol, acted as executioner. The signal was given, and the poor Pierced-Nose, resisting, struggling and screaming, in the most frightful manner, was launched into eternity. The Indians stood around gazing in silence and mute awe, but made no attempt to oppose the execution, nor testified any emotion when it was over."

A gibbet had been erected and the culprit was produced with his legs and arms bound. Irving comments upon the needless severity of this act which was censured by Clark's partners. Irving here refers to Farnham as being from Vermont. It may have been that Farnham had lived in Vermont, but the register of the St. Louis cathedral gives his birthplace as Massachusetts. There is another tradition that Farnham was born in Connecticut, as Holt states, but the cathedral register provides the most trustworthy evidence as to the state of his birth.

Irving records the fate of Astoria. McDougal, one of Astor's partners, sold all the furs and merchandise of Mr. Astor to the Northwest Company, a rival Canadian concern. Valued at $100,000, they were sold for $40,000, Irving says. Excuse has been sought for this action because it was reported that a ship of Great Britain, with whom we were at war, was on its way to destroy everything American on the northwest coast. Vaunting airs were assumed by the men of the rival Northwest Company. The Americans in the fort at Astoria wanted to raise the American colors, but were forbidden by McDougall. Astoria came to an inglorious end. It is noteworthy that McDougall had an uncle who was one of the principal partners in the Northwest Company and that later McDougall received a share in that company productive of a large income. He claimed, however, he had made the best bargain for Mr. Astor possible at that time.

Hunt, one of the partners, had left Astoria temporarily, and on his return, heard with indignation of the sale to the Northwest Company, ascertaining that McDougall had acted for Astor when secretly he was a partner in the Northwest Company. Hunt secured drafts for the purchase price, and Irving says he remitted these to Mr. Astor "by some of his associates who were about to cross the continent to New

York." John F. Darby, Farnham's final administrator, according to the Drumm narrative, said it was Farnham who was intrusted with $40,000 (the amount Irving says McDougall sold the Astor furs for) and with dispatches for Mr. Astor.

When Hunt left Astoria for the last time, he was in the brig, Pedlar, and Farnham was in his company. Farnham was landed at Kamchatka and began his perilous journey to New York. Washington Irving says nothing about Farnham in this connection, nor does he in any way refer to Farnham's overland trip. Neither does Mr. Irving give the subsequent history of other Astorians who were Farnham's comrades. His most interesting narrative is brought to a close with the disposal of the Astor furs to the Northwest Company. He could not be expected to follow the later careers of the Astorians. Astoria passed to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 when it absorbed the Northwest Company and a new location was obtained at Fort Vancouver, sixty miles up the river. Mr. Astor had offered to re-establish Astoria if it would be given the protection of the American flag, but President Madison, to whom overtures were made, did not see fit to act. The question as to the right to the soil of the Oregon country was long a source of dispute with Great Britain, but Washington Irving closes his book with the statement that the dispute was amicably settled "and the venerable projector whose early enterprise forms the subject of this work had the satisfaction of knowing, ere his eyes closed upon the world, that the flag of his country again waved over 'Astoria.'"

It has been my privilege to read a paper entitled, "The Indian Trade at Rock Island," the work of William D. Barge, a Chicago attorney. This paper was read before the Rock Island County Historical Society on January 12, 1920, by Mr. Barge, who was originally from Dixon, Illinois, and who is buried there. He wrote "Early Lee County" in 1918, and his paper was loaned me by Mr. John H. Hauberg of Rock Island. There are many references to Farnham and Davenport, partners in the Indian fur trade, but they are too lengthy for reproduction here. It seems that in 1831 Joseph M. Street, then Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, wrote to the Secretary of War that in 1830 when the Sacs and Foxes and other tribes entered into a treaty ceding to the government lands in the western part of Iowa, a trader said to him: "The Sacs and Foxes wish to sell to the United States the whole of their country that borders on the Mississippi, but they won't sell unless the commissioners will pay to Messrs. Farnham and Davenport what the Indians owe them." A statement bearing upon this claim was submitted by Farnham and Davenport in November, 1831, saying that the Indian trade was carried on by them "at Dirt Lodge on the river Demoine, Flint Hills, and at or near Rock Island on the Mississippi River; at a post on the Ioway River, and one on Rock River, and with the Ioways at a place on the Missouri River"; that they had been engaged in that trade for the past seven years, with a capital ranging from $33,000 to $60,000 per year; their credits, extended to the Indians at that time, amounted to $136,768.62, of which they had collected $83,498.74, leaving a balance due them of $53,269.88, but they did not consider the

balance "desperate" because the Indians have obligated themselves and had promised to pay them whenever enabled to do so.

The treaty made with the Sacs and Foxes in September, 1832, makes it clear that the Indians on July 10, 1831, had admitted their indebtedness to Farnham and Davenport in the sum of $40,000 for articles furnished them during the past seven years.

After the Black Hawk War and Black Hawk's surrender, the treaty of September, 1832, provided that the United States should pay $40,000 to Farnham and Davenport at the request of the tribes. It seems that the Indian Agent, M. S. Davenport, paid $6,000 of the Sac and Fox annuities to Colonel George Davenport on account, but this was subsequently returned when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs protested. By an act of Congress approved March 2, 1833, $40,000 was appropriated to pay the Farnham and Davenport claim.

Mr. Barge states in his paper that "no convincing evidence has been found by which we can determine the precise date of the establishment of either the Indian agency or the government trading house at Rock Island. There is an abundance of conclusive evidence that the government maintained and operated a trading house or factory at Fort Armstrong, but all my efforts to learn when it was established were failures. Mr. Barge refers to trading operations at Credit Island in 1780, quoting Meese's article on "Rock Island in the Revolution." La Gutrie, a British trader, brought goods to Rock Island soon after the Chicago massacre, according to Black Hawk's autobiography, and one, Edward Lagoterie, seems to have had a trading stand at Black Hawk's village, but Mr. Barge says, "There is no evidence of the permanent operations in 1817." Noting that Farnham was licensed to trade in 1817 by Ramsay Crooks, general manager of the American Fur Company, Mr. Barge says: "Where Farnham actually traded under his license in 1817 is not disclosed by any document coming under my observation." Major Morgan wrote from Fort Armstrong in 1817 that Farnham declared his intention to commence trading two or three miles below this place. One, Amos Farrar, joined Farnham and Davenport and the firm was later known as Davenport, Farrar and Farnham, and it represented the American Fur Company. William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, licensed Farnham in 1825 to trade at Dirt Lodge on the Des Moines River, Flint Hills, Iowa village; on Grand River at the mouth of the "Kansas" River "and a point near Fort Armstrong" with a capital of $12,500. Again in 1830 Farnham was licensed by Clark, his trade area to include Rock Island, Farnham's capital being then in excess of $33,000. "There the record closes," says Mr. Barge, "so far as it concerns licenses to trade in this immediate vicinity." Mr. Barge refers to the president's message of January, 1825, which contained a report regarding the closing of the Fort Armstrong factory. Under the act of 1822 abolishing the trading houses, William Gibson was appointed to wind up the affairs of the trading house at Fort Armstrong.

As for the Indian Agency at Fort Armstrong, there is evidence that as early as 1812 Thomas Forsyth was appointed sub-agent at Peoria, and in 1817 he came to Fort Armstrong with annuities for the Sacs and Foxes. He was dismissed 1830. The act of 1834 provided for an

Indian agency at Rock Island, but it was to be discontinued in 1836. The garrison at Fort Armstrong left in 1836, General Street, Indian Agent, had charge until 1838 when George Davenport became the agent and remained in charge until 1840.

As a part of my paper, I incorporate the following report from Farnham & Davenport to the Secretary of War in 1831, one year before Farnham's death:

The following are answers to sundry questions propounded to us by the Secretary of War thro' the Honble Thomas H. Benton, U. S. Senator from the State of Missouri—viz:

1st—The trade with the Sacs and Foxes is transacted and carried on by us at the following posts viz: The Dirt Lodge on the River Demoine, Flint Hills on the Mississippi River—at a post on the Ioway River—at or near Rock Island and one on Rock River, and on the Missouri River at a place called Black snake Hills where the trade is transacted with the Ioway Indians.

2nd—The trade at these posts has been transacted by ourselves for the last seven years, and we have employed a capital of from 33 to 60 thousand dollars per annum embracing the expense of clerks, traders and common hands.

3rd—The various articles supplied we deem it unnecessary to detail here because we have by a regulation of the Superintendent of Ind^{n} Affairs furnished accounts of our Goods each year to him wherein the names of Goods are specified, and the cost given at the same time.

4th—In regard to the prices we have charged at selling our goods to the Indians we have to say they have been various. The most of our sales have been on a credit to them in the Fall of the year for the purpose of enabling them to make a Hunt and support their families during their absence. On prominent articles such as Blankets, Strouds &c. &c. we have charged an advance of 25 to 50 per cent and minor articles at something more, and when goods have been sold for prompt pay they have not averaged us more than 12½ to 25 per cent. These prices relate to the Sac's and Foxes. The prices charged the Ioways have been higher because they have seldom paid more than 50c on the dollar of their credits and frequently nothing at all.

5th—The articles received from the Indians in exchange for our Goods embrace Beaver, Muskrat, Racoon, Deer and Otter with some few other kinds of skins few in quantity & of minor importance. The value of these articles always depends on the demand in our Eastern markets, which are regulated by the markets abroad, say foreign—

6th—The number of men employed at all those posts will average about 30 per annum and their cost will be about $9000.

7th—the modes most common in transporting articles to and from the Indian country so far as we are concerned, are steam keel & Mack^{w} Boats and Horses.

8. The Goods are generally sold thro Indians at the diff^{t} posts but the furs and Peltries are often collected by our men at a great distance from them and brought in thereto by our means.

9. Our credits to these Indians for the last seven years have amounted to $136,768.62 and we have collected of that sum $83,498.74 leaving a balance due us on transactions with them in that time of $53,269.88. This balance we do not consider yet desperate because the Indians have obligated themselves and promised to pay whenever enabled so to do.

10. The Sax & Fox nations furnish about 600 Hunters and there are about 3 to 4 hundred families dependent on these Hunters for necessaries of life and the former are dependent on the trader for the means to enable them to supply the latter.

11. The parties destined for the trade in the interior part of the country depart for their posts in the month of Septr and return in the month of Apl. following with the proceeds of the trade.

12. We have from time to time [received] from the Indians as provisions Venison, Bear and Turkey meat as they have it to spare.

13. We think Furs have somewhat diminished.

14. The Fur trade labors under disadvantages from the Location of the posts being continued at the same places from year to year—the Indians changing their hunting grounds every year, the trader should be allowed to follow them and erect his post where the Indians Hunted or as near there as possible, not only for his own advantage but that of the Indians—another disadvantage is the high duty on such articles as are not manufactured in the U. States and the permission by our Gov^{t} to import Furs from abroad free of any duty.

In regard to the questions relative to the trade with Mexico and the Rocky Mountains, we have no answers to give, not being engaged in either of these branches of the Fur trade.

We would in conclusion remark that the Indians we trade with live on the western border of the Mississippi and the Eastern border being settled with whites communication with each other is easy and very often had much to the detriment of these Indians—when we first knew them they were sober & industrious—now in consequence of the ease with which they acquire ardent spirits from their contiguity to the whites they have become drunken & worthless. We would barely suggest the propriety of removing them into the interior, by purchase of their lands, to such distance as would prevent their easy access to the whites to whom they part with not only their arms & ammunition, but even their clothing for the sake of strong Drink.

All of which respectfully submitted.

Farnham & Davenport.

Nov. 22, 1831.

Indian Report to the Secretary of War, 1831.

I also incorporate into my paper the documents relating to Russel Farnham in the P. Chouteau Maffitt Collection owned by the Missouri Historical Society. P. Chouteau was a representative of the American Fur Company. The documents are as follows:

1827, Oct. 3 Rock Island. Chas. D. St. Vrain to Davenport and Farnham.

"I have this day shipped agreeable to your request per Steamboat St. Louis & Galena Packet, all skins we had on hand & consigned to American Fur Co.

1140 Muskrat skins,
46 Otter "
38 Mink "
46 Racoon "
3 Wild Cat "
15 Beaver "
13 Packs Red Deer skins."

" Nov. 14. Flint Hills. Russel Farnham to P. Chouteau, St. Louis.

"I herewith inclose the amount of Ballances due to the men engaged by the trip for Fort Armstrong, viz:

Paid Battist Marichail. 11.62½

. . .

The above men have all their accounts made out seperately.

. . .

My health has not been good since I left St. Louis. I have had the aguing Fever &c. and still am unwell. I shall write you more fully soon at Present I am not able to inform you any thing respecting trade. . . .

1828, Feb. 7, Fort Edwards. Russel Farnham to P. Chouteau, St. Louis.

I have delayed writing you this long in hopes to be able to give you some Idea of what the returns from this section of the country

would be likely to turn out, but am at a loss what to say on the subject.

It is about thirty days since I left the head waters of the dumoin, at that time the Indians had none of them come out from their hunting grounds, and what their hunts will be I am unable to say. The few that I have seen since my return have made bad hunts. Mr. St. Vrain informs me that the hunts on rock River are likewise bad and I do not think that he will make more than half the quantity of Packs, usually made at that place,—exclusive of Downy he has a strong opposition from the Illinois River or the Lakes I am not able to say which.

. . . . Owing to bad health I was not able to go to the Missouri as I intended, and sent Mr. Palen in my place, it was impossible to get a house on Grand River & Mr. McLoud is at the snake hills near the Agency. I have not heard from Mr. Farrar at the mines this winter, and am not able to say what he is doing—it is my Opinion that there will be very few Rats this season & little or no Beaver, and the Deer hunt has been generally very bad.

I wish you to send me by the first good Opportunity 3 pieces list Blue Cloth from 4/6 to 5/ sterling & 6 Barrels of Flour let the list be white & clean. my strouding is very bad with a dirty smoaky bar & not sailable—I wish you to have a sail made for the Boat Oregon by the last of March of good sheeting say 30 feet hoist—33 feet head and 36 fast my old sail is gone. Please remember me to Mr. Renshaw likewise to Mr. Sarpy.

1828, Mar. 15, Ft. Edwards. Russel Farnham to P. Chouteau, Jr., St. Louis.

I have understood that there was some scarlet Blankets in St. Louis for sale and it is my wish that you would buy all unless that the quantity should over run 50 Pairs—from late news I think that the trade will be good in the spring.

I shall see you in about six days from this date and have an opportunity of explaining verbaly.

" Apr. 30, Rock Island. Chas. D. St. Vrain to P. Chouteau Jr. St. Louis.

"Mr. Farnham requested me to say" . . . He speaks of accounts and furs minerals not yet smelted. His business bad. (Long letter, not quoted)

" May 9, Galena, Chas. D. St. Vrain to P. Chouteau Jr. St. Louis.

"Inclosed is receipt for Sundries skins that Mr. Farnham wish to sell for cash to the best advantage they are a lott that was traded by Messrs. Gratiot & Co. on acct. of the outfit of Davenport Farnham & Rolet and Mr. Farnham & Gratiot could not agree on the price. Mr. F. wishes you to send the proceeds from said skins to Amos Farrar at Fever in order to Settle with Mr. Rollet.

" July 23, Rock Island. Geo. Davenport to P. Chouteau Jr.

I recd your letter dated the 27 of June (accompaning the articles ordered by me) on the fourth of July. Since that time I have been with Mr. Farnham at Debuke Lead Mines. I found the mineral and Ashes that was traded last year on the Island nearly covered with water, the current having washed a chanel through the Island close by the ashpile must have washed a consitterable quantity away. On our arrival whe landed at Debukes Mines and had a council with the Indians about making our Establishment on thier land, they after sum time concented that whe might put up a hous for our goods but that our Clerk must live in a Lodge, thay have been repeatedly caushened not to give permission to aney person to Establish them selves to trade on their land at the mines. . . .

I shall leave Rock Island today for fort Edward to se Mr. Blondau and Palen and to make arrangements with Mr. Farnham respecting the goods that will be wanted and to what places whe shall send outfits—for further information I beg leave to refer you ro Mr. Farnham who will be with you in a few days. . . . .

1828, Aug. 19. Rock Island. Geo. Davenport to Russel Farnham, St. Louis.
"I have sent down the few skins that was on hand at this place. I thought that it was better to send them down—I will also send down the few packs of Read Skins as soon as the Indians have all come in—thay have don verry little this summer, you will se by the letter addressed to Mr. Chouteau what I have said about the Scarlet Blankets and I believe you will agree with me that it would be well to have a supply for the Spring trade, and you had better mention again that the Strouds must be dark blue. Should the new company have good strouds whe may send our Bad collard strouds to sum other country thay will be of no use hear. I am tired and worn out with dificulty whe have with our stroudding. Mr. Mitchell has done very little. Mr. Farrar Got as much mineral at point Davenport as he got above.
Manager run away from Rock Island the other day he was tired of working and wanted to get to sum place whear thier is nothing to do but get drunk. I am determined to make evrey man thats under my controul work for his wages. I have had three stacks of hay made for our Oxen & horses and have the men Building a house for them selves to live in, the old house having fallen down. I brought up Lemrey — Clark and one other man to make hay for my private use after thay had got stacked about twenty-five Tons, the Beaver Son thought proper to set it on fier and Burnt it all up." . . . .

" Aug. 22. Rock Island. Geo. Davenport to P. Chouteau. I recd. Mr. Farnham's Letter by the packet and have furnished the twenty-five Beaver traps for Mr. Farrar's outfit.

" Oct. 28. Rock Island. Geo. Davenport to P. Chouteau, St. Louis.
"Yours of the 1st of October came to hand yesterday. Inclosing the account currect—you will please to refer to my contract with the Am. Fur Company, and you will find an error you have onley given me credit for one thousand in place of twelve hundred dollars. Mr. Farnham being with you he will be able to give you a detaile of our arrangements nothing Can be said as yet what our prospect is respecting the hunt or the probability of trade—The report of Morgan and a party of Foxes having gon to war against the Siou is not true—I have every reason to believe that the Sacks & fox Indians will remaine at peace.
I have purchased of the Asst. Comy of Subsistance at Fort Armstrong Ninety Barrels of Good flour at $6 pr. Bbl. part of it I have sent to the mines and hope to make sum proffet on the purchase the memorandons for articles wanted at this place forwarded by Mr. Farnham I hop are on the way—
I mentioned to you in one of my letters that it would be nessary to have a large Quantity of Scarlet Blankes for the Spring trade and should the Indians receive money at the treaty next Summer thay will be the best articles whe could have and would yeald a good proffet."

" Dec. 1. Rock Island. Geo. Davenport to P. Chouteau.
. . . . .
The rumer of the Foxes having gon to war has don sum mischief as a number of Indians have not gon so far as thay Intended I recd. a Letter from Mess. Palen & Mitchell thay had arrived at the dirt Lodge on the 25 Octr. and would continue on to the Rackoon River—Indians have been sent to contradict the rumer and I hope by this time they are all hunting. . . .
Will you please to Informe me in your next if Mr. Farnham has gone to the Eastward and if Gon at what time he may be expected to return.

1830, Aug. 1. St. Louis. Russel Farnham to P. Chouteau, Jr. St. Louis.
"I wish to present to your consideration a subject of Great importance, touching the interest of the American Fur Company, or that branch of its business which has heretofore been committed to my

charge; You are apprised that for a Long time, we have been in habit of furnishing almost the total supplies of Goods & necessaries to the United tribes of the Sauks & Fox Indians on the Mississippi. At first and for some years the credit granted in the fall, were commonly paid for in the proceeds of the next winter's Hunt. But for the last few years, the Indians have been unable to pay by Reason of the constant war which has raged between them & the Sioux, that war while it created necessity for a greater supply of Goods, cut off the means of payment by driving them from their accustomed Hunting grounds, & from their only means of support by their own effort. In this condition they have been left dependant upon their trades, and I am persuaded, if I had withdrawn the accustomed credits from them many must have perished with cold & Hunger for we furnished almost the entire supply of clothing, utensils, & ammunition. I still hope that the war with the Sioux would cease, and the Sauks & Foxes, returning peaceably to their Hunting grounds would be able to fulfill their engagements with us, But that hope has failed the war still continues, notwithstanding the overtures of mediation lately made by the United States commissioners, at Prairie du Chien; and I have great fear, such is the amount of the accumulated debt, that even if Peace were now restored, the Indians would not be able to pay it off, out of the proceeds of their Hunt, after providing for their own current necessities. Seeing their desperate condition, they have repeatedly offered to pay the debt by a cession of land and on being informed that the laws of the United States & the policy of the government Forbid the transfer of lands from Indians to any but the nation, they have expressed an entire willingness to cede to the Unt. States a part of their lands, west of the Mississippi, (a fine Region abounding with minerals) and to stipulate for the application of part of the purchase money by the government to the extinguishment of our debt, the debt fairly adjusted, amounts to fifty three thousand dollars, but considering the present embarrassed state of the Indians, and the danger of ultimate loss, I have entered into an express agreement with their chiefs & Leaders to Receive, in full payment, the stipulated sum of forty thousand dollars, which will barely cover the prime cost without a cent of profit.

The treaty at Prairie du Chien was frustrated by the non attendance of some of the Hostile tribes, and I understand Another attempt will be made at St. Louis in the approaching fall or winter. I do not know whether the commissioners uninstructed by the Government would make any exertion to affect this first accomodation but I feel persuaded that a proper application to the Government, would cause the Commissioners to be so instructed as to ensure success, the Indians will Frankly admit the debt, and freely consent to pay it the manner indicated and nothing can prevent the accomplishment of an object so just, but an unwillingness on the part of those who may be deputed by the Und. States to treat for the land.

I hav'e felt it my duty sir, to communicate these Facts to you, as the Head & director of the affairs of the Company on this Frontier, not doubting that wou will take such measures to accomplish the end desired, as to your own good judgement may seem proper."

(This letter is not in the handwriting of Farnham, although signed by him. S.M.D.)

1830. Nov. 15. Keokuck. Russel Farnham, per M. Aldrick, to Pierre Chouteau. "On my arrival at the Desmoine Rapids I found that there were a number of articles that are in the memorandum that are not forwarded and which I am very much in want vis. 1½ Dozen prs of Mens coarse Brogans, ½ dozen prs of Mens Fine Brogans. 8 doz. of snuff Files a small assortment Tapes assorted 2 dozen pr. woollen mittins 4 dozen all colld. Linen Thread 2 dozen of cotton Thread

assorted. Should there be no opportunity of forwarding the above named articles to this place please send them to Quincy to the care of Mr. E. D. Piersons. I presume you will have an opportunity of sending them to that place this fall and I shall be able to get them up. When you send them please inform me by letter. . .
N. B. Please not to fail of sending the articles for I have not a pair of mens shoes or a pound of thread in store."

" Nov. 17. Des Moine Rapids. Russel Farnham to Pierre Chouteau.
"I have thought proper to inform you that there is now a Post Office established almost opposute to my place by the name of Montebello Post Office, Hancock County, Illinois. Should there be any change in the price of Peltries or any thing you might wish to communicate please direct your letter as above mentioned and I shall be able to get it I think without fail. No news."

1831, Jan. 10. Fort Edwards. Russel Farnham to Pierre Chouteau, Jr.
"I arrived at this place on the 8th Inst. from the desmoin and hasen to Inform you of the prospects of our trade—as far as I am able at present—The Indians on the Ioway River are making good hunting say about 40 lodges of sauks and Foxes—and will be able to pay their credit, principally, and have some trade, the sauks say—about 30 lodges on the Des Moin will likewise make tolerable hunts, but the band that was at St. Louis this fall will do but little and what small credits they got I am afraid will be badly paid, as they did not get up in time to reach the hunting grounds, having loightered on the way drinking &c. untill the season was to much advanced and of course doing but little, accept hanging about the post drinking and beging—paying of their fall credits with fair promises to make a spring hunt and settle up their accounts. Thank God there is but few of them that has any credits to much amount From all appearances I think we shall have moore Ratts this season than last, as they are very plenty in some sections of the country, and taking the present view of affairs I think that my trade will not be a bad one in this quarter, as for the Missouri I can say nothing not having heard from that post at all, but hope for the best. . . .
We have between 2 and fore feet of snow at this place, and much more inland and the Indians many of them are in a state of starvation. I am of opinion that all my horses will die that are in land. . . . .

" Apr. 2. Rock Island. Geo. Davenport to Russel Farnham.
"A few days after you left Rock Island I went down to the mouth of the Ioway River. . . I have seen a good many Indians but no skins.

" " 26. Keokuk. Geo. Davenport to P. Chouteau.
"I inclose you a mem. made out by Mr. Farnham for articles wanted for the Sack & Fox Indians on thier annuities—be please to send them to Rock Island by the return of this boat—Mr. Farnham has been verry Ill but is recovering—Whe have sent down by this Boat Sixty one packs of Furs and pelltrery. Mr. F. has forwarded you the receipt Whe shall probabley have one hundred packs more."

1831, June 5. Rock Island. Geo. Davenport to P. Chouteau, Jr.
"Be please to send by the return of this boat four Riffles—this is no doubt but thier will be a fight between the troops and the Sack Indianns. The Genl. has sent for the troops from Prairie du Chaine Whe expect to get the annuities safe in our hands to day. Mr. Farnham is well and will be down in a few days."
N. B. Should Mr. Aldridge call on you for one Hundred Bushells of corn be pleased to forward it by the return of this boat. Whe have rote to him for that quantity—if he cannot furnish it to advise you."

" July 4. Rock Island. Geo. Davenport to Russel Farnham, St. Louis.
"On the arrival of the mounted volunteers the Indians crossed over to the west side of the Mississippi—They have since held a council with them, all is settled. The Indians will all start in a few days to make a Summer hunt—Wapellow has paid four hundred dollars you will take it out of the money you have belonging the agent. the Sacks want 24 kegs Gun powder to be paid out of the Ballance coming to them. I enclose you a memorandom of articles wanted at this place which you will please to have filled and sent by the return of the Boat—if whe make no arrangement this year the articles will be charged to me. The assortment of Reddy made clothing I would prefer selling on commission." . . .
"You will please to make arrangements imeadalley to send up about thirty Good Beef cattle. I have purchased and killed every head I can get in the vicinity of Rock Island, you had better come yp with the Steam boat as far as Wilneys? purchase the cattle and send them up. I have been verry much engaged with the Indians since you left hear I have purchased four hundred Bushells of corn to supply them and pay the corn you borrowed. four companys of Soldiers remain to Garrison the post—if you could meet with a lot of flour cheap purchase it—it will be well to get our heavy Goods up wilst the river is high and freight low."

" Oct. 1. Bond of Farnham and Davenport with the United States, Felix St. Vrain, U. S. Indian agent, in sum of $5000. to cover their license to trade at "the Dirt Lodge, Flint Hills, and within three miles of the junction of the English River with the Ioway River, which is about one hundred miles above the junction of the Ioway with the Mississippi the places designated for carrying on trade with the Sac & Fox."

" Jan. 10. Desmoine Rapids. Russel Farnham to Messrs. Renshaw & Sarpy.
"Gentlemen allow me to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. James Wells a nephew of mine who is remaining with me this winter you will find him a Gentleman and any attention you may be pleased to show him will be gratefully receive as tho bestowed on your most ob. Servt."

" " " Desmoine Rapids. Farnham to P. Chouteau.
"Please to send me as soon as possible.

1	Bale of 3 point Blankets.
20	pr. of domestic Plaid (bright collors)
10 or 20	lbs. Brass Wire.
3	Dozen Playing Cards
10	lbs. Worsted Yarn (assorted)
6	pr. 3 pt. Green blankets
1	dozen pr. of good Worsted Socks.
1	" bed cords.
40,000	Wampum (assorted)

The above articles I am very much in want of. the prospect of making a good trade this season is better than it has been for years past. Mr. Aldrich has been up to the Ihoway River and I have just returned from the Desmoin and I think that both Posts will make good returns the Indians have made great hunts. I have a strong opposition this season Mr. Phelps has 5 trading establishments and sells goods low."

1832. Mar. 29. Fort Edwards. Farnham to Chouteau.
"Please receive by the Steam Boat Wallace 154 Packs Deer skins marked R. F. with exception of a few Packs marked F. I shall be in St. Louis in about eight or ten days.
N. B. I have made a contract with Cap. Carlisle to take all of my Packs the next trip."

" May 11. Rock Island Geo. Davenport to R. Farnham, St. Louis.
. . . "Genl. Atkinson with the regulars and Governor Reynolds

with the volunteers all started yesterday up Rock River, the Black Haw and party has taken post about Ten miles above Oges ferry."

" June 8. Rock Island. Davenport to Farnham, St. Louis.

. . . . "Mr. Pilcher has arrived and taken charge of the agency he will be in St. Louis towards the last of the month. Whe have no late news from the army thay are waiting for the Sioux and mennomeys to assist. the winnebagos have all ready gon against the black hawk and his party—wat a fuss thier is in puting down about five hundred Indians, their has been all ready in the field twenty five hundred men but they would not fight. Mr. St. Vraine has not been found he may be a prisoner with the Indians.

" June 11. Fort Edwards. Farnham to P. Chouteau.

"Please send me by the first S. boat 50 lbs of Loaf Sugar 100 lbs of Ham best quality 10 gals of best old Whiskey 2 Bbls of Hair and 4 Bbls of good Line suitable for Plastering.

N. B. Report says that letters have been received stating that some families have been murdered on the Missouri and that four hundred Indians have started to Join the hostile party of Sauks and Foxes Nothing new at this place."

" Aug. 22. Articles of agreement between Russel Farnham and Stephen Phelps & Co.

Partnership for a term of eight months. each party to furnish an equal share of stock and to share equally in the expense and profits of the trade.

" Sept. 2. Rock Island. Davenport to Farnham, St. Louis.

"I have nothing to communicate to you on business. we are intirely Ingrouced by the terable disease that has broke out amongst us the Cholra our onse helthey Island is now a Buring Ground more than one Sixt of the troops stationed hear have died during the last 6 days the disease is yet Raging I am not verry well if I do not see you again God Bless you, my account you will find correct I now you will do Justice."

" Sept. 29. Rock Island. Davenport to Chouteau.

"I have now the pleasure of wrighting you on a more chearing subject than my last the dreadful disease the Cholra has disapeared. a treaty has been made with the Sacs & Foxes thay have sceded to the United States the west Banck of the Mississippi fifty miles deep and have stipulated to pay us our claims of forty thousand dollars, it will no doubt pass the Cenate.

. . . . The absence of our friend Farnham gave me full liberty to presue my own plans." . . .

The records of Rock Island County disclose that Russel Farnham and his partner, Colonel George Davenport, held extensive land holdings. Many abstracts of title go back to their ownership. One instance in particular may be cited here—the purchase by Farnham and Davenport of what is known as the "Le Claire Reserve." It seems that as the result of a treaty between the United States and the Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawattomie Indians made at Prairie du Chien in the then territory of Michigan on July 29, 1829, among other grants of land, it was provided in the fourth article that one section of land each should be granted by the United States to Antoine Le Claire and his brother, Francois Le Claire, descendants of Indians. These sections lay on the Mississippi River north, and adjoining the line drawn due west from the most southern bend of Lake Michigan where the said line strikes the Mississippi. This Le Claire tract extends from near Fifteenth street in the present city of Moline to Nineteenth street in the present city of East Moline and takes in part of Campbell's Island on the Mississippi

River. The treaty under which this land was granted was ratified on January 2, 1830.

In 1830 the LeClaire brothers conveyed these lands to Farnham and Davenport, setting forth that they wished to purchase land, establish themselves permanently in St. Charles County, Missouri, and desired in this way to raise funds. This transfer was made before the United States had issued letters patent. The two sections were sold for a total of $1,600. This tract at present is worth millions of dollars as it extends through portions of the manufacturing districts of Moline and East Moline. There are many single fifty-foot lots in this tract which would now sell for $1,600. Indeed, it may be there is property in this tract today which would sell for $1,600 per foot.

Two surveys were made by authority of the United States, one by Sullivan & Duncan in 1819 and the other by Flack & Bean in 1821. The Sullivan & Duncan survey was accepted for the letters patent in connection with the grants to Indians. The sale to Farnham & Davenport was an event of October 30, 1830. Three years later, an acknowledgment of sale was executed by Antoine Le Claire. Farnham & Davenport paid $1.25 an acre for the two sections, each paying a small amount down on the deal. It is interesting to pursue the legal history of the sections. The acknowledgment of the conveyance to Farnham & Davenport was made by Antoine Le Claire on March 29, 1833, before M. P. Leduc, a justice of St. Louis County, and Francois Le Claire's acknowledgment was made on November 5, 1830, before William Christy, Jr., Clerk of the Circuit Court of St. Charles County, Missouri. The deed from Antoine, for the land reserved to him by the treaty of 1829 was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior by George H. Mang, Jr., Commissioner of Indian Affairs to be laid before the President for approval, and on March 22, 1855, it was duly approved by President Franklin Pierce. The deed from Francois Le Claire (spelled Le Clere in the deed) was approved by President Pierce March 26, 1855.

Next, in 1837, came a suit brought in the Rock Island County Circuit Court—a petition for partition—by Colonel George Davenport, the case being entitled, "George Davenport vs. Charles Farnham, infant and only heir at law of Russel Farnham, deceased." He recited the purchase of the sections by himself and Russel Farnham, and states that Russel Farnham died in St. Louis in the fall of 1832 without having made a will, and leaving a widow and one child, named Charles "now aged about six years" who resides in St. Louis and who has no guardian in Rock Island County or in Illinois.

It is affirmed that Susan Farnham, wife of Russel Farnham, "hath deceased in St. Louis aforesaid since the death of her said husband." A certificate is appended that he gave notice in the nearest newspaper, the *Northwestern Gazette,* and *Galena Advertiser,* of his intention to apply to the court for partition. The court appointed as commissioners, John W. Spencer, Joel Wells, Sr., and Miles W. Conway. They reported that they had inspected the land on September 1, 1837, and made assignments to George Davenport and Charles Farnham, respectively.

The next record has to do with the estate of Charles R. Farnham, deceased. William Brackett applied to the Rock Island County Court for letters of administration, setting out that Charles R. Farnham died

on or about June 11, 1849, that he was a minor of whom up to the time of his decease, he (Brackett) had been guardian. Charles R. Farnham died seized of real estate in Illinois and left no will. Brackett claimed to be his creditor and said he was applying for letters of administration at the request also of Mrs. Therese Bosseron, the grandmother of decedent. Letters of administration were granted to Brackett on October 6, 1849, and he gave bond in the sum of $16,000 with Bailey Davenport as surety. Brackett filed his final account on May 9, 1855, setting forth that no assets belonging to the estate had come into his hands, nor have any debts been presented. The court discharged him from further duties.

In 1858 one, David R. Wood, owner of 40 acres in the Le Claire Reserve purchased from Russel Farnham, filed a petition in the Rock Island County Circuit Court to perpetuate testimony. In the deposition of one, Antoine L. Chenie, then 51 years old, Chenie said he knew Russel Farnham from his (Chenie's) boyhood until Farnham's death. He asserted that Farnham by repute was born in Vermont. He states that Russel Farnham died in 1832 in St. Louis and that Mrs. Farnham died a year or two later, in 1833 or 1834, and that Charles Farnham, the son, died between 1848 or 1849 and 1850 at the home of his grandmother, Madame Therese Bosseron, in St. Louis. Charles' relatives in St. Louis were his grandmother, Madame Bosseron, his uncle, Theodore Bosseron, and a cousin, the daughter of a Mr. Corse and Leontine Bosseron. Charles Bosseron, husband of Therese, died in 1825 or 1826, he said. He affirmed also that Madame Therese Boosseron was still living in St. Louis. He added that Charles R. Farnham died of consumption. In a deposition one, Samuel A. Coale, said he thought Russel Farnham was either an Englishman or a Scotchman by birth. He speaks of Leontine Corse, daughter of Leontine Bosseron, wife of Mr. Bosseron, "who married first John Reed and had by him one child living at the time of Charles' death named Julia Reed, married to Mr. Jenkins; and Samuel A. Coale and William R. Coale, children of her second marriage with myself." There are other records that refer to sales of land by Therese Bosseron who inherited the estate of her grandson, Charles R. Bosseron.

The records of Rock Island County reveal that Farnham & Davenport purchased other extensive tracts of land in Rock Island County, holding them under letters patent issued by the federal government. The name of Russel Farnham is indelibly inscribed upon those records as every abstractor of titles knows. I am indebted to Mr. Roy Sears, veteran Rock Island newspaperman, at present a member of the *Argus'* staff, for assembling the data about some of Farnham's transactions in land in Rock Island County.

Ever since I first became interested in the career of Russel Farnham, I have tried to ascertain where his mortal remains lie. This effort, I am sorry to say, has thus far been unavailing. Stella M. Drumm writes me that prior to 1831 all members of the Roman Catholic Church in St. Louis who died were buried in the cemetery attached to the cathedral church of that communion. In 1831, she states that a new burial ground was opened on Franklin avenue and the remains taken from the old church yard and reinterred at the new. In 1849 this new burial

FOREWORD

Wm. H. H. Ibbetson, writer of this diary, returned to Chesterfield, Illinois, after the close of the war and married Mary Agusta Monroe.

To this union seven children were born, namely: Harry M., Anette M., Robert E., Clara Ann, Ernest A., Mabel Agusta and Wm. H. H.

He died September 5, 1883. Mary Agusta Ibbetson, his widow, lives at Carlinville, Illinois.

Dated June 5, 1930, Carlinville, Illinois.

WM. H. H. IBBETSON.

WILLIAM H. H. IBBETSON

Co. D, 122d Reg. Ill.

Alias Chesterfield,
Macoupin Co., Ills.
Purchased of Hugh Langen Aug. 23d 1863, A. D.
At Porter's Creek Station,
Hardeman Co., Tenn.
Via Overbidding L. B. Corbin,
At public sale.
Dedicated to Songs & other stuff. Also Day Book & Ledger.

Oct. 8th, 1862. Left Camp Palmer en route for Dixie. Went by rail to Alton & there went aboard the John Warner. We ran from there to Cairo & thence to Columbus. It rained continually, wetting all who could not get shelter. We expected to stay all night but at 9 o.C. were aroused up & put aboard the R. R. & sent to Trenton Tenn. it being reported that there was a force of Rebs advancing on that place. A dark & gloomy ride it was. A new Reg. expecting to be put into battle next day, going there in box cars used for taking beef cattle to Corinth, smelling anything but sweet. The night dark & rainy. Truly that was a time to try men's souls. We arrived at Trenton next morning at daylight, on the 10th Oct. all being quiet.

Oct. 10th (62). Went into quarters that evening in a large store on the West side of the square. The town very nice but shows unmistakable signs of civil war. It used to have a pop. of 1500 but now not more than 500 remain. A great many of the houses are vacant. John I. Rinaker took command. The place is very high & rolling & has been a beautiful place. Besides our Reg. is the 4th Ill. cavalry, also 7 Tenn. Our duty was light, but little drill. Guard light & plenty to eat. Nothing of interest happens. No enemy show themselves, none but guerrillas. We remain in Trenton until November 10th.

Nov. 10th. Our Reg. is divided. The right wing Co. A. F. D. I. & C. going to Humboldt 14 miles South. Humboldt is a very nice little place, numbering about 150 in pop. A large fortification was thrown up by the contrabands & we went to building barracks inside the fort, & begin to look like living again, our health being excellent.

Dec. 18th. On the 18th came orders for us to be ready at a moment's warning to march. We left on the morning train taking nothing but one blanket, leaving tents, clothing & all. It was rumored that Bragg was marching on Jackson, Tenn. with 20,000 men. All the forces on the R. R. were concentrated there in anticipation of an awful engagement. We were disembarked & camped near the Hospital. About 9 O. C. we were marched to the West part of town & placed behind some cotton bales & ordered to keep our accouterment on. But we slept in peace.

Next morning we were ordered up bright & early & given 100 rounds of cartridge.

Dec. 19th. We afterwards unloaded & took only 40 rounds, that being quite a relief. We then took three days rations & were marched out on the northeast side of town & drawn up in line of battle in a cotton field, expecting there to make our maiden effort. As a general thing the boys were perfectly cool. Some were taken suddenly ill, but the instances were few. About 10 O. C. we heard cannonading. We were then supplied with spades & dug a ditch, expecting some of us to die in. Some said it was the last ditch but it was in truth our first & we didn't die in it. At two O. C. we were marched out some two miles where we were fired into by the enemy's pickets. No one hurt. We were then marched in line of battle across a field ½ a m. in width, expecting every minute to be fired into again. Here we went pell mell over fences through briar patches & through boggs, in line of battle. But it was beyond my power to see the line or the battle either. After entering the woods we halted & were foolishly ordered to leave our blankets. In fact to prepare for a forced march. This happily was countermanded by Brig. Gen. Lawler, who said the enemy were retreating & there was no danger of a battle. Our *sick* & *give out* were soon better. Blankets were picked up & once more we went ahead, in column & at a decent gait. We marched only one mile when we camped for the night. The firing was done by the 61 Ill. & a Reb battery. The Rebs took to their heels. The firing in the forenoon was between the 61st & 39 Iowa & a Reb cavalry. The Rebs were repulsed with heavy loss. Estimated at sixty killed & 100 wounded. One killed on our side.

Dec. 20th. Next morning we were marched off bright & early in pursuit of the enemy. Now found out to be Forest. Being about 6,000 all mounted strong with 10 or 12 pieces of artillery. We marched all day. See nothing & hear plenty. Camp for the night 10 miles from Jackson. Next morning, Dec. 21st, we march ahead but see nothing. We begin to see the beauties of a soldier's life. Marching here one fellow will lay down gave out. Here you will see some fellow with more fat than his share puffing & blowing like a fat hog. Some trying the experiment of limping on both feet, caused by various blisters. Some still & silent. Thinking of home, or some one else. Others boisterous, cursing & swearing. Others enlivening up the boys with a song. In fact you can see men, in every mood imaginable & language of all sorts. We again camp without seeing anything.

Dec. 22nd. Start back. March hard all day. They find out Old Forest has fooled them only making a feint on Jackson. To make them concentrate forces there & leave the R. R. unprotected. Which succeeded better than he could hope. From Jackson he started up the road towards Columbus. Burning everything as he went & tearing up the R. R. track also. He burnt our barracks at Humboldt & destroyed & stole all our camp equipage & also our Co. flag. Which we foolishly left. They stole our flag & violin & used our flag as a dancing floor. Humiliating after promising the fair donators at home we would die beneath its folds rather than see it dishonored. Alas promises are made to be

broken. How true. He took some prisoners there. Two out of our company which were paroled.

Dec. 23d. Arrive at Jackson. Eat a little grub & go to Humboldt on the train. Camp at Humboldt on the night of the 23d thinking we were going to stay there.

Dec. 24th. But next morning we were shipped up to the Break 6½ m. There we got off & marched to Trenton. Finding everything there all quiet. We went to the south part town on the R. R. & there camped. Various were the rumors we heard. We heard that Forest was 6 m. from us & was going to give us fits. About 9 OC at night we fell in silently & marched back to where the break was. Our Reg. was the only troops within 8 m. & if the rumors were true we were in a tight place. We went back on the R. R. tracks. Over trestle covered with sleet. Some had to *coon* the longest & highest trestles, which was a slow & laborious job. But after all we arrived in safety & camped for the night. It being 1 O. C. in the morning.

Dec. 25th. Christmas is here & we are in the woods. In the "southern Conthieveracy." This is different from our last Christmas. Spent in collision with Roast Turkeys & Plum Puddings. Today we are out in the woods no tent nothing but Hard Crackers to eat. Gloomy it's a fact, but we made the best of & passed the day in talking over old times. Telling anecdotes. In the evening we killed some beef & therefore had beef & hard tacks for supper. Something we had been without for a week. The day was spent & various were the ways. We all joined in praying for such a state of affairs not to happen again. We would rather spend the next at home among friends & Dumpplings. It would be hard to tell which we would prefer. The friends I suppose.

Dec. 26th. Raining in pefect torrents & into the bargain have to march back to Trenton. The R. R. being completed to that place & in running order. But there was not rolling stock enough to carry us. So we had to foot it & carry our things such as blankets & c. We were accompanied by some cavalry & artillery & so were safe. We arrived in Trenton about noon. The stores were open & the boys went in & helped themselves. Soon there was a strong patrol put on the streets & that stopped it at once. We camped at houses in town, & kept pretty civil generally.

Dec. 27th. All quiet. We are living fat. We forage on the citizens. Forest when he got our Commissary distributed it among the citizens thanks to his magnanimous soul & we went about & searched every house & took all of Uncle Sam's goods & *some more too*, sugar & coffee & molasses, barrels of flour, pork, fish & in fact everything. In this way we got along very well. Better than could be expected. We now thought we were good for a rest. But alas for human calculation. Always at fault.

Dec. 28th. On the evening of the 27th the Reg. was ordered out again it was said on a foraging expedition. So being very lame & foot sore I was ordered to stay & take care of the Co's things. Which I willingly did. But the Reg. did not return the next day nor the next & soon we found out they were after Forest again & that another large force had joined them, & also that they were likely to catch him. We

formed ourselves into Co. to repel any Guerillas who should attempt to come in but had nothing to do at all.

Dec. 30th. Our Reg. is still out. And are close after Old Forest. We hear nothing definite. Only they were likely to have a fight.

Jan. 2nd. We hear that Forest has been overtaken, & whipped him & that the 122nd did most of the fighting. The fight happened on the 1st of January, 1863.

Jan. 5. We now have the particulars of the fight. They came up to Forest on the 31st Dec. near Cross Roads 30 m. N. E. of Trenton. Here they laid on their arms until next morning. When the fight was opened by the artillery at 10 O. C. our force had but one battery (16 guns) & that was worthless (7th Wis.), while Forest had 15 pieces of the best artillery in the Reb service. Our batteries were soon silenced & the Brigade our Reg. was in were ordered forward. As they thought to charge the batteries. But when within 400 y'ds they were ordered to lie down behind a fence & open on the batteries. Here they remained in a perfect storm of shell, grape & canister for ¾ of an hour. The Rebs then came up in their rear & they were ordered to "about face" & charge double quick. Which was done. Driving the Rebs helter skelter. Another fresh Brigade then came into the field captured the Artillery & cleared the field without firing a shot. Thus ended the Battle "of Cross Roads." Our loss in all was 150 wounded & 40 killed, 57 were wounded in our Reg. & 19 killed. Our com. lost two killed (Sam'l Peter & Geo. Finch) & 10 wounded. One died in Hospital in Jackson (Hagler). This was our maiden effort & did not run.

Jan. 16th. The boys again return to Trenton, in the rain. Still in a good humor. We are once more allowed to have some rest. We go into quarters in the court house some of us. Others in vacant stores, & all having good houses, & all having a good time We have no excitement all quiet. Col. Rinaker (wounded) goes home, & so we have only one field officer in the Reg. Major Chapman being taken pris. in Humboldt. We live fine. Old Forest had the kindness to leave our commissary in the hands of citizens & we had nothing to do but go & take it. Which was made the duty of all the Soldiers.

Feb. 20th. We leave Trenton for Corinth. Rather down in the mouth. Corinth had the name of being unhealthy. Still we have to go. It commences to rain about 4 O. C. arrive in Corinth in the rain in the evening about 7 O. C. too late to go into camp. The next morning we marched up to a warehouse on the Charleston & Memphis R. R.

Feb. 21st. It still continued to rain in perfect torrents. Added to very cold weather. Made it very disagreeable. We have had times cooking. Coffee being quite a luxury.

Feb. 22nd. Our camp is laid out & a detail made to clear it off. We are moved to the guard house & stay there all night. We get our tents next day & raise them & get moved in. They are poor excuses. Being old & torn. We do the best we can & make allowance for the rest. Our Mess in particular stole one tent & drew another in way done well. We also had a box of provision sent down & rec'd the day we left Trenton. This was no small consolation. There being a large am't of

butter contained therein, & last though not least an enormous fruit cake, *"Which went."*. We soon build us a wall, composed of split boards, set upright in the ground & use our tents for a roof & again we are fixed for living again. Guard duty is pretty heavy & have to go over a mile to be mounted. We also have to drill to all intent batallion & comp. It goes hard. We did very little drilling in Trenton. We are troubled considerable with camp diseases. But withall are tolerable healthy. Corinth is a business place. It shows unmistakable signs of the struggles that took place there. Trees shot off. Others filled with bullets. Houses shattered to pieces & riddled. It has been greatly improved since our troops took possession. Uncle Sam's boys will improve even if they are in Rebeldom. There was nothing of interest happened during our stay. Nothing only the dull routine of camp life. I'll therefore skip our stay there.

April 15th. We are ordered out on a march. Start early on the 15th. It was reported that we were to go out as far as Glendale. We march through Glendale to Burnsville & there camp for the night. The night was clear and we slept sound. We are 15,000 strong, 30 pieces of artillery, 5,000 cavalry, making a pretty strong army. We begin to think we are in for something. Something was going to be did. Somebody was going to be hurt.

April 16th. Start to march at 6 O. C. March to Iuka. Halt & eat dinner. March six m. farther & camp on a beautiful spring branch. The country through there is very hilly almost mountains. The scenery is grand. Wild & uncultivated, but for a farming country it is almost worthless. The soil was poor & thin, also rocky. A country for a painter or poet, but no place for a farmer. An Ills. farmer would never think of settling in such a country. It will not do to compare with any of the North Western. One county in Ills. will raise as much produce as a dozen such counties. Cotton is the staple crop, they raise some corn & wheat, but not much. Cotton was & is King. Slavery are his servants. We have confiscated all his servants & now the old fellow has to go begging. Rock are not scarce. The roads need no paving. Nature has paved them. But in her exertion has thrown up mighty hills.

April 17th. Get our breakfast early & start forward. March only a mile & a half, when we hear cannonading ahead. They fire only 10 guns when we are ordered forward. It seemed that Roddy was endeavoring to keep our forces from crossing Bear Creek. Only two miles from where we halted. But as soon as we opened on them with artillery & they *skedaddled*. The 9th Ills. mounted infantry was thrown over but too quick. One of our own shell falling short, killed one of them. This was our only casuality. We then advance to the creek & cross, on what we called a "Raccoon Bridge." This was composed of a rope stretched across the creek. We stripped off our clothes & holding on to the rope we waded the creek. The creek was very swift. It being impossible to cross with holding on to the rope. There was a fine *aspect*. 10,000 men crossing a river naked, the water as cold as ice. This had to be done & it was done. We camp on the opposite side. Are aroused early & start at ½ past six to march East. March into

Cherochee Valley over little Bear Creek. We again come to the R. R. "March to Buzzard Roost" & the Re receive orders to about face & return. This valley is one of the most beautiful we have ever passed through. The land is richer here & more like land corn looks well. impossible to cross without holding on to the rope. There was a fine Good houses & everything denotes prosperity & wealth. But alas. War had made sad ravages. Fences are burned up. Everything is torn up. Our armies had been through there before & wherever an army goes destruction marks its path. But still this valley has the material for making a prosperous country. Yet it has to suffer the consequences of its folly.

April 18th. We return to Bear Creek & camp at our old camp. The 9th Ills. had considerable of a fight. Also one battery. We lost one gun. On acc't of being out of amunition. This was our only casualty. We gained the victory. We have to wait for our train to cross.

April 19th. Are early on the move. We marched out 1½ m. & hid ourselves in the brush, expecting the Rebs to make an attack. We laid there until noon & then moved out ½ m. farther. After staying there until 4 O. C. we marched back to our old camping ground. The intention seemed to be to coax the Rebs in and snaffle them. Thinking they did not know our force. There was a small force of cavalry sent out to engage them & then retreat & draw them in. But they declined fighting & we had our trouble for our pains. The day was wet in the morning, but cleared towards noon, nice & warm.

April 20th. Morning clear & warm. Remain in camp. Go down to the creek (¼ m.) & go in swimming. They are busy working on the Pontoon Bridge. Our wagons cannot get across & therefore we have to wait for them to cross. Try our luck fishing, catch one little chap & thats all. We expect to go out as far as Tuscumbia, when we get our train across. There is no force opposing us but Col. Roddies. Not numbering more than 3,000. All cavalry. It commences to rain in the evening, making it disagreeable, very. Our feet needed some rest. They being very sore. The country is very rocky. That making it hard on our feet. We gather Pine branches for a bed. It being almost as good as a feather bed. We bark the trees for a roof & very soon have a good shelter from the rain. We are all in a good humor, never better. The ones who were down with camp diseases are well. The march & hard fare has been good medicine.

April 21st. Morning clear & warm. Go fishing again but have no luck. Don't bite worth a cent. It clouds up & rains in the afternoon. We get thoroughly soaked. Rubber blankets are in great demand *"Pressing."* One in our shed was pressed. The fellow to whom it belonged gave chase & succeeded in running himself down & got no blanket. He got back considerably the worse for wear. The night passed off dreary enough but one thing that cheered our hearts was we rec'd a mail, that evening late. I rec'd one from Sister Clara, Isham Peebles, & one from home. They were all well. This was good news at least. We went to bed not to sleep but to lie there & get wet & cold. The rain fell in torrents. Everything was afloat. Some are singing. Some are

swearing. Some are wishing they never "jined" others sit still & keep their own council. I was among the latter.

April 22nd. Are roused up early & get our breakfast. Receive marching orders. Draw one day's rations, & hold ourselves in readiness to go at any moment. Are reinforced by one Brigade of cavalry & one of infantry & one heavy Parrot Battery. Remain in readiness for more than three hours. It being very pleasant for us to stand in readiness. When our Superiors knew all the time we were not going to move. It was all right I suppose. But I could not see it so & others were in the same fix. We take off our accounterments & take things easy. Dry our blankets & ourselves, cook up our meat & make coffee & eat. Cook corn bread in the ashes & call it good. The fresh beef looked as if it would have taken a whole drove to have made a shadow & one brave old bull charged through our camp & was so poor bullets had no effect on him & he escaped.

April 23rd. We start early on the march East again pass over the same route again. Halt at Cherokee Station. This is a beautiful place. There is but one store & station house. But the county is the secret. The valley is very rich 5 m. in width & in a high state of cultivation. There we stopped, there was two plantations. Two large dwellings & beautiful surroundings. Everything had a show of wealth. One was the home of a Rebel, Col. Nixon. The other was his brothers. In one of his pastures our's & Roddie's cavalry had a fight. No one hurt on our side. But one wounded on theirs. Which was left in one of these houses. We marched ahead to the Tenn. River & camp. Soon our artillery open, we fall in and go double quick to support them. It turns out they are only shelling the woods to clear the picket lines. We return to our camp get supper & go down to the river (¼ m.) & take a good wash & feel better. We now have a new com'der, Cap. Dugger of Co. A., who started out with us is relieved & therefore Gen. Dodge appoints Cap. Hanna (Chief of Dodge's staff). A man of peculiar military merit. Our Reg. fall deeply in love with him on first sight, is greeted with three cheers & what is more obeyed with alacrity. He is a very fine man & one who knows what he is about. After camping the second time we have no more trouble. We are very tired our feet sore. But after all we are in good spirits. Taking all things as they come. Some of the boys are out of tobacco. They would give their boots for a chew. I suppose it would be all right. We sleep sound.

April 24th. Morning clear & pleasant. Aroused early. Get our breakfast dry our blankets, (Sleeping out of doors down here, the dew is so heavy as to almost wet a blanket through) & prepare for the march. We start at 7 O. C. enroute for Tuscumbia. The county still hilly & rocky. Yet it looks fertile & wherever there is a little level spot, there you'l see a house. A log one for that's all they have down here. We arrive in Tuscumbia about 3 O. C. We expected some resistance here but none was offered. Tuscumbia is a beautiful town, and possesses many natural advantages. Here you see some of the most beautiful springs in any country. There is not less than 9 or ten, one comes rushing out from under a hill almost of solid rock. The stream is

about 40 y'ds in width & 4 feet deep. Clear & pure. The best water we have ever seen in Dixie. The other springs are smaller, but all clear & pure & cold. It was the best watered place we were ever in. We all took a good wash & felt better. We are all in a good humor. All but tobacco chewers & they are out of the weed & are paying $1.50 per plug, digging to say the least but yet they pay it willingly.

April 25th. Visit today what is called the "Cave Spring." This is about 50 ft. underground. To get to it you have to climb a high hill. On the top the ground sinks down from every way & at the bottom there rushes through one of the purest & coldest streams of water I ever tasted. Its about 10 paces in width, & about 10 ft. deep. It forms the large spring below. It must be a beautiful place in the summer. Its nice any time. I could not help going in swimming, the water looked so pure. It made a fellow feel as strong as an ox.

April 26th. Still in the same camp. We know nothing about where we are going. But the general belief is that we will return to Corinth. The 7th Ill. went to Florence last night. Shelled the town a little & then came back. No enemy of any consequence being found. Day before yesterday the 7th Kansas had considerable of a little fight. They came out victorious. We may advance tomorrow but not far.

April 27th. Receive orders to march at 7 O. C. Get under way about 8 O. C. The morning is rainy & disagreeable. It turns colder & rains harder. Putting rubber blankets in great demand. We strike the R. R. about 4 O. C. & march along on the ties until we reach Town Creek. Here Roddy makes some show of fight. His artillery is posted on the opposite bank. Ours fire a few shots, but nothing is done, of any note & no one hurt. We march back ¼ mi. from the creek & camp for the night & a wretched fix we were in. Wet as drounded rats. Cold as an Esquimaux, & as hungry as a wolf. We had nothing but "hard tacks" & but very few of them. I had one & divided that with our cook. After we had eaten our *supper,* we built up big fires & dried or rather warmed our clothes. (As it was raining so we could not dry them.) We then took some "flat rails" & laid them down & put some "Sage grass" on top of them & laid down & was soon in the land of dreams. It quit raining about 11 O. C. (at night) & turned off pleasant. This was one of our worst nights.

April 28th. Are aroused early & get our breakfast. A little before "Sun up" we have quite a picket skirmish. But it am'ts to nothing. We put on our cartridge boxes & continue to warm ourselves by the fire. The rebs are in full view on the other side of the creek. They are drawn up on a range of hills about ¼ mi. from the creek. Their artillery is also posted on the same hills. Our batteries wheel up & open. The rebs follow suit & quite a lively duel is kept up. We were then drawn back behind a hill where we remained about 20 minutes. In that time Col. Drish joined us & Cap. Hanna gave up com'd. We were then marched up to support the batteries. We then thought the time had come. The cannonading became more terrific, 18 of our guns were putting in their best licks. You could hear nothing but the hissing of shell & the squeal of the hotckiss shot from the old parrots. We were

marched up & ordered to lie down. Which was done. Some went to sleep. The more curious watching the fight. Your humble serv't was among the latter. Our artillery soon got the range & dismounted one of their pieces & disabled another. After this we heard no more of their guns. Some of their shell passed over our heads but none fell among us, one in the Reg't next to us (81st O. V.) had his arm shot off. This was our only misshap. The artillery continued to fire until 10 O. C. when the 7th Ill. crossed. The rebs skirmished awhile but soon run. They would once & awhile show themselves but when an old Parrot sent a shell in that direction they always concluded discretion was the better part of valor. Eight or ten Reb sharpshooter's got behind an old log house & were shooting at our skirmishers. One of the Parrots were let loose at them, but missed the house the 1st shot. The next time they drove center. You better believe they got out of there in a hurry. The house was 1700 yds. from us, pretty good shooting. We lay on the bank of the creek all day. At night all was quiet. We camped on the creek. Thus ended this little exercise. It was grand to see the shell & shot strike & plow up the ground. To see a faint blue streak of smoke, then a flash. Then a cloud of smoke & last though not least the explosion of the shell. When they burst over our heads, they did not afford so much enjoyment. But we were not scared.

April 29. Morning a little rainy. We about face & march to the rear. I suppose I'll have to explain the reason why. Col. Straight left us on the evening of the 28th on a Raid. That is to destroy things generally. He took along with him the 80th Ill. mounted infantry, 66th Ind. & part of a cavalry Reg't. Also one battery. When he got around on the other side of the Rebs he was to fire a rocket. Which thing was done. He sent three up about 1 O. C. on the 29th. This was a signal for us to turn around & retrace our steps & we were after doing that thing. Of course all know of Straight's capture. He went a "tearing" until he reached Rome, Ga., where Forest captured him. We march back through Tuscumbia & six miles on the other side. It was considerable of a march 18 m. We camped on one of our old camping grounds, near the Tenn. R. We were tired but we were going home. We had very little to eat. Two hard crackers per day & had to forage for our meat. We got into a drove of shoats & your humble serv't got one. Which served some of us, but some got none. It was a hard go. But there was no other chance. We eat our hard bread & kept up our spirits. I had to go on picket. But that was no worse than staying in camp.

April 30th. Continue to march to the rear. Arrive at Bear Creek about 4 O. C. We are foot sore & tired & yet nothing or little of nothing to eat. We get a little meal, but have nothing to cook it in. But we go to Q. Masters & get some shovels & cook on them. Some cook them on boards. Some in the ashes & other various ways. I was offered 50 cts. for my pancake or rather *shovel cake*. But did not want to sell. Many went to bed that night without having enough to eat, hard as it was. There was very little grumbling not as much as would be expected. A soldier's grit upheld them. Such scenes as this show the man. Some would lie down discouraged, would not carry any wood or

help make a bed. Others went whistling around as joyfully as if they were at home. Others in a passion cursing everything black & blue. Others walked around firmly & resolutely determined to stand whatever might come. But to sum up all, *every man was for himself.* Such places as these try men's souls. We made a comfortable bed & laid down & had a sweet sound sleep. The night was clear and beautiful.

May 1st. Morning clear & warm. We make our shovel cakes & prepare to march. Begin to move about 9 O. C. We cross on a pontoon bridge & get no wet feet. We march all day & reach Burnsville about 6 O. C. A distance of 16 m. Here we once more heard the welcome whistle of the locomotive & here also we rec'd plenty of provisions & once more felt like we were in the land of the living. We eat until we wanted no more & had some left. Went to bed & slept sound.

May 2nd. Morning clear. A rumor is afloat that we are to go on another expedition. But it is finally concluded to take none but the mounted force. So we escape. Col. Corine goes in com'd. His destination was to be Okalona. Some 70 m. South East. We commenced marching about 10 O. C. The distance to Corinth was 17 m. We marched into Corinth about 4 O. C. hungry, dirty & tired. We had had no clean clothes for 19 days & dirty was no name for us. The first thing we did was to put on some clean clotnes (after washing) & then we eat one more regular supper & felt better. If we had have been sent on another spree we should have suffered & I fear we should have been very mutinous. We all felt very uneasy until we started on the Corinth road. Then we were all right. When we first went to Corinth we felt like we were all going to our grave. But now how different.

May 3d. It is useless & uninteresting to give a detailed acc't of our stay in Corinth. We eat, slept & went on guard & that was all. Except drill. We continued in our old encampment until the 14th.

May 14th. We move to the South East of town to where the Ohio troop were quartered. They are moved out on the R. R. They have good houses & a nice camp. We like it very much. It's much cooler than our tents were. The water is better, & colder. We are all in good health. All I say but once & a while one gets sick. But that is a matter of course. We have regular mail & papers regular. The 81st Ohio & 9th Ills. are camped joining us, quite a town. We have a beautiful drill ground & we use it too. Drish puts us through. There's no rest for the wicked. I suppose it's healthy.

June 4th. We are once more ordered on the move. Our destination is supposed to be the Memphis & Charlestown R. R. We start about 9 O. C. Get to Shewalla about 1 O. C. The 18th Missouri is encamped there. It's one of the prettiest camps I ever saw. There is about 4 acres of land enclosed by a stockade & excellent log cabins built all around the outside. They look like living. It is raining beautifully, our luck. We always start in a storm. We march six miles farther & camped for the night. We are very tired. We had to carry all our clothing &c. You better believe our knapsacks get heavy. A great many of the boys give out & fall to the rear & many are the curses that are heaped on old Mercy's back & he needs cursing a little. There is no use in marching us 16 miles with our knapsacks & nothing but a

Dutchman would think of it. But one day has passed. Let us take a sleep & get ready for another day.

June 5th. Morning clear. We start early. We are as stiff & sore as an old horse. We march 6 m. (to the Hachie R.) & there we halt. Have to make a bridge before we can cross. We are now 7 m. from Pochahontas. Expect to reach there by night. The bridge is completed & we move ahead. Many are falling to the rear & knapsacks in large quantities lay scattered by the roadside. We reach Pocha. about 5 O. C. Some companies do not have men enough to stack arms. Co. I. is in that condition. It's a good thing that there is no enemy in these parts, for if there was half of our Reg't would be picked up. Yes half the Brigade. We anticipate a wet night. But it clears off & we sleep sound. We are to be split up & distributed. Not *individually,* but in Co's. We are to guard from here to Grand Junction. We will have a good time. I like to guard Rail Roads. Pochahontas is a nice looking place. There is about 200 inhabitants. All secesh of course. The tavern is quite a nice building. But well eat out. Here will be our Brigade Hd. Q'rs.

June 6th. We are put aboard the R. R. & run to Grand Junction. There we get off. We remain in Grand J. all night. This is one of the most God forsaken places I ever saw. The town is no town at all. It's but a name. There has been considerable of a fort here & is still here. There is no guns in it. There is nothing but a few cavalry here, 7th Tenn. We remain all night. Gather some dewberries. The 1st we have seen. We cook them & have a feast. We don't want to stay here & I think we will not.

June 6th. Morning clear. We are on the move early. We first march down to the depot & wait for the train. But no train comes. So we unsling our knapsacks & go it on foot. I'll explain. There is on the R. R. between here & Pocha four places to be held. 1st Salisbury. There our Reg't H'd. Q'rs. will be & Co's A. F. E. & I. will be the Co's to remain. This is 8 m. east of Grand Junction. (None of our Reg't is to stay here.) The next station is Curve Station. There Cos. K. & G. stay, distant from Salisbury 9 m. Next is Porter's Creek. There Co's. D. & C. remain. This is 16 m. East of Salisbury. Next Co's. B. & H. This is two miles farther & the place is called Middletown. These are our stations. We like the appearance of things very much indeed.

June 7th. Like our situation very much. We are posted on the R. R. on Porter's Creek. We are quartered in an old wood shed. The weather is warm & we just as leave be under a shed as in a house. There is 30 home guards here. They don't am't to much. They do no good whatever & their stealing gives uncle Sam a bad name. They live entirely by forage, & therefore they are much disliked. We take a good wash in the creek & put on some clean clothes & feel a great deal better. We are contented to stay here all summer at least.

June 8th. Morning rainy & cold but not very cold. It's only cool. Clears off in the afternoon & we go blackberrying & make it pay. We get all we want & that is not a few. We get a bucket full. We can get all the fresh meat we want & in fact everything. It seems like Trenton again. They report lots of Guerrillas. The home guards are

afraid to go half a mile from camp. We went out & got some bacon (100 lbs.) for the Co. We also get some chickens & milk. The folks are very kind. They are afraid to be otherwise. They were all Rebs before we came, but now all Union. Hurrah for them. But they can't save their chickens or sheep. We forage for negroes to build a stockade & cattle to do the hauling with & we get them too. We also forage all their provision. There is a mill only ¾ from here where we can grind corn & grind we do. We forage horses until we can mount about 15 men. We jump on these & scour the country for 8 or 10 miles around. In fact we are just having a staving time. As good as we want. After we get settled down we conclude to have a country *ball*. Consequently we go out & invite the fair ones in. Steal their chickens to make the dinner of. This may seem provoking. But it's nevertheless, true. They come out *en masse*. We have 35 women present. Some very good looking too. We construct a floor under the shed & prepare to have a big time. The ladies are not equal to our Northern ones in intelligence but as far as looks are concerned they do very well. There is one almost universal filthy habit. That is chewing dip. This is performed by taking a coarse sort of snuff daubing it on a stick & chewing the stick & almost every woman has a handspike sticking out of her mouth. But to return to our party. The ladies came in on horseback & such that were lucky enough to have a *feller* came in on the same hoss. White sun bonnets seemed to be the agony & hoop are mighty scarce, few & far between, & their dresses chiefly composed of home made goods. The dancing commenced about 10 O. C. The fair ones were rather bashful at first & to say the least, awkward, but then the thing went off well. Dinner was announced and all fell too. Ladies 1st we uns next. You ought to have seen the strange *looks* when some one recognized an old spoon or knife or some other articles of furniture which had been cramped. Yet nothing was said & to all appearances things went off as merry as a marriage bell. But all things must end & this Ball was not an exception. They went home alone. We were afraid to go along.

June 24. The weather is very rainy. The creek is very high & the water is raising in the shed. It's now 8 in. deep & raising fast. The creek is almost a river. We have a fine time going in swimming. We can swim to our hearts content. No lack of water. I'm on guard, brought on by the corp'l getting drunk who was on guard, & thereby being *unfit for duty*. Have to post my guard in my shirtail. Pants & boots doing no earthly good. It was disagreeable to say the least.

June 26th. Morning clear & water falling. I feel more like sleeping than anything else & so after taking a swim I take a nap & feel better. I've never alluded to our cook. We have one of the best cooks ever did cook. Her name is "Ant Becky." She's an old negro woman from Ala. used to be cook in an old rich cusses house. She can cook fresh beef just right & when it comes to blackberry pies & dumplings, she's at home. We live fat to say the least. Just as well as if we were at home.

July 2nd. Go on a foraging expedition today. We go out to a man by the name of "Harris." We find him thrashing wheat. The

Home Guards go with us. Harris it seems had been & was a rank Secesh. One of the rankest. He had chased and conscripted all the Union men he could. Before our forces came the Union men had to lay out in the woods & lay out generally. The home guards now were bound to have some revenge. So the first thing that was done was to burn his machine, wheat & all, next went his house & next his brother's. It was a hard piece of business. But he deserved it. We got about 400 lbs. of bacon & three bushels of onions & three horses. We took all we wanted & promised to pay. We had no trouble with any armed folks. The women were the worse. I can scold the men, but when the women commence I'm out.

July 4th. The fourth of July again. The 87th since our independence was declared. Weuns have invited the loyal inhabitants in to have kind of a celebration. They come bright & early. About 10 O. C. we commence dancing. Keep it up until dinner. (Which was good enough to have done honor to an Ill. celebration.) After dinner we listened to a speech from Cap. L. Peebles. Which was well rec'd. After that we ended it up by dancing. It's true we did not feel that genial feeling we used to feel at home. But it was better than nothing. It showed our willingness. If we had been at home we would have done better, but then we was not & therefore chose the next best. They dispersed about 5 O. C. & all passed off quietly & harmoniously, if not joyfull. After all we did the best thing under the circumstances. If we had excluded them from our company & not allowed them to make the show of Loyalty. It would have made them worse. It did us no harm, and that was all we cared for. It's true the smiles of the fair ones had kind of an attracting influence over the single men in general & the married ones in particular. I suppose if their spouses had have been present there would have been a few curtain lectures carefully laid up for their special benefit.

July 6th. Glorious news. Vicksburg surrendered on the 4th at 10 O. C. We captured 31,000 men & 100 pieces of artillery & 11,000 stand of arms which had never been used. This is what I call a victory. One that's worth winning. Pemberton's army was the flower of the Western Army & Vicksburg a place that they thought impregnable. But alas for human calculations. The Yanks were not born to be outdone. Old Grant intended to never rest until the Miss. was clear of all obstruction & that by the help of providence & brave spirits he has done. We now hold the king of waters from source to mouth. Hurrah for Grant. If he is a Democrat. He is going to parole all the pris. This is one feature I don't like. The confed. authorities will pressed them into the service without exchanging them. When some more innocents will have to be sacrificed. I hope they will have some honor. They say many of the prisoners are joining our side of the house. That is enlisting. This looks well, but yet may not turn out well. You can't mix Northern & Southern men together & be in peace. There is an inborn hatred between the two that never can be crushed nor coaxed out.

July 7th. More good news. Lee's raid on a grand scale seems to be cut uncermoniously short. He crossed the Potomac & advanced as far as Gettysburg where Mead's army meets him on the 3d. They fight

all day. The Rebs have the best of the fight & our army falls back & let the Rebs hold the town. Anxious are the hours of that night, dead & dieing still laying on the field & likely to remain there. The dawns. Our army is now all there. Three new army corps have come up & early the fight is continued. We gain the battle, although many fall. The Rebs are compelled to retreat & if our army could have followed up the advantage Lee's army might have been captured or annihilated. But we did not follow as a matter of course & a great victory was neutralized by an unsuccessful pursuit. Disgracing, but true. All that was needed was a spirit to dare. The hands were ready to execute. But no hand was there to direct & a golden opportunity lost. Lee lost much. But expected to lose more. Mead made a hero of himself & in fact did nothing. He was compelled to fight or die. There was no generalship shown on his part. He had but little to do with the battle. His corps com'd'rs did all, yes, all & Mead had the glory. So wags the world.

Sept. 6th. Have been in the hospital a couple of weeks. Been sick of the brain fever & sick I was but I'm now up again. I'm very weak, but am clear of disease. Our hospital is very well regulated. We are well cared for. It makes me almost homesick. Some of our boys are home on furlough. I wish I was one. Our Reg't has been paid 4 months pay. It comes very handy. It has an awfully quieting effect on ones nerves to have lots of money in his pocket.

Thurs., Sept. 10th. Return to quarters today. The hospital is so full that they have no room. Besides we have good Q'rs. & a good cook & being better I can get along better there than at the hospital. Nothing new in camp. The boys are fat & saucy & forage more than ever. We have been getting all the peaches we could eat, just for going after them.

Sept. 13th. Sunday morning. Beautiful & bright. Some of our detachment go sparking this morning, 10 of them (It's a habit they have got into). Old Street a guerrilla who ranges around these parts took it into his head to capture them. Therefore when our boys got scattered out two in a place, he commenced his work. First he captured Pugh & Sell, Co. D. They were only 2 m. from camp. He got them also without any resistance. His next victims were ½ farther ahead. Here there was three, Powell Waddle, Co. C. These were gobbled in like manner. The next we two on horseback. Atterberry & one of Co. C. Atterberry was captured. The other escaped. They fired on them & the rest of our boys took the alarm and run & made their escape. So ended the drama. Old Street captured 5 men & 10 horses. Pretty good haul. He was posted. These boys were invited out there a week before hand & the trap set, I have little doubt, but it could not be proven. Anyway they got three of our boys & two of Co. C. We went out in force as soon as we heard of their danger, but was too late. He had done his work, & departed. We have been in the habit of killing all of his we captured. He may return the compliment. It will be hard if he does.

Sept. 20th. Another great battle fought. Rosecrans has been attacked by the combined forces of Bragg, Johnson & Longstreet. Rosa.

is driven back to Chattanooga with considerable loss, but yet he holds his own. This ever to be remembered battle commenced on the 19th. Rosecrans' loss was 6000 killed & 12000 wounded, 40 pieces of artillery and 4000 pris. In this fight we got worsted. If it had not been for Gen. Thomas we would have been annihilated. As it was, it was bad enough. But the Rebs cannot call it a victory. They intended to drive Rosa. back into middle Tenn, & recapture east Tenn. They lost their object & therefore we gained a victory in a defeat. Both armies were terribly cut up & will not be able to do anything for months. Stone River was terrible, but Chickamauga was more terrible. This war is nothing but one succession of terrible battles, resulting in no material advantage to either side. The Rebs concentrate & prepare & we fight them on the ground of their own choice. Why can't we strike at their weak points, does the quantity of blood make the victory great?

Sept. 28th. It is useless almost to recount the dull routine of camp life. It's the same old story. Breakfast in the morning at 6 O. C. Guard mounting at ½ past 7. Dinner at 1 O. C. Supper at 5. Fiddling & "stag dancing" until bed time. The only change we have is that we go swimming & fishing. Also when we get out of fresh meat we have to go foraging. We are playing soldier & having a fine time. If there was only something to do we would not get the blues. But at it is, we do get blue decidedly. We are having a country ball occasionally & generally have a pretty good time. The girls it's true have not the many winning ways the Northern Ghaals have. But then they do better than none. Some of the boys are pitching in steep, but I don't think any are seriously affected. None are fatally took.

Oct. 10th. The Rebs have been fooling along this road for several days. It is reported that there are 6000 of them under the com'd of Col. Lee. What Lee he is, I have not learned. Today he was advancing on Salisbury, 15 m. west of us. He was met by Col. Phillips of the 9th Ills. His force consisted of the 9th Mounted Inf'ty & one battery & some cavalry. In all am't to 2500. After a fight of three hours the rebs had to run. We heard the cannon plainly. There was only 7 killed & 100 wounded on our side & on the Rebs 40 killed & 200 wounded. Our artillery done the work. The 9th Ills. done most of the work. Our cavalry would not stand. It is thought it will cure them of raiding on this R. R.

Oct. 12th. The rebs are still on the R. R. They make a dash on Moscow & come near capturing a train which had on board Gen. Sherman & the 13 Regulars. The Reg. get out & repulse the Rebs with considerable loss. I guess they will not try to cut the R. R. again. They would have made quite a haul if they had captured Old Sherman. Sherman's entire corps is passing over this road. Their destination is supposed to be Chattanooga. There has already 30,000 passed over the road & more are coming. It is expected we will follow when they all get by. They are bound to hold East Tenn. Sherman is the man to send to help him. Sherman is one of the ablest men in the army. If he gets there Old Bragg will have to keep his eyes open. Old Sherman cannot lay still.

Oct. 14th. The 14th. My Birthday. I'm 23 yrs. old, getting pretty old. I'll be 25 when my term of service expires. Our paroled prisoners return today. They were exchanged on the 1st Oct. We are expecting every day to leave. We will go East. Perhaps as far as Chattanooga. It's immaterial where we go. I just as leave go to Chattanooga as any other place. We receive our mails regular. The rebs are quiet. I suppose they are making good ready. We'll catch it next.

Oct. 20th. Old Sherman has a chunk of a fight near Cherokee Station in Ala. He whips Roddy pretty bad. But he loses one of his best men, Col. Curtis of Iowa. He was shot by a sharpshooter. Sherman is bound to go to Chattanooga.

Oct. 30. Receive orders today, to prepare to march. We have to draw shelter tents. Things look like we were to go somewhere. Cap. goes to Salisbury to draw our money. We are to get $52.00, 4 months pay, some say only two.

Oct. 31st. We today receive two months pay. Our clothing acct. is settled. I receive $15.00 for clothing not drawn. Some don't have enough to pay their clothing bill. We will likely leave here today or tonight. We are all in a bustle packing up. The citizens are all scared to death. They expect to all be killed. We are to leave the place without a guard. Some say R. R. is to be left entirely. I don't believe it. Yet it may be true. I guess the cavalry will patrol the road. The rebs are pretty quiet. We are all ready & waiting.

Nov. 1st. We started last at 1 O. C. & a cold time of it we had too. We had to go on flat cars. The wind blew terrible cold & we had to take it. We had to wait 1 h. & ½ at Middletown for H. & B. & to say we were cold would entirely miss the case. The water in our canteens froze hard. So you can judge how warm it was. We arrived in Corinth about 4 O. C. half froze. Here we were allowed to get off & make some coffee & get warm. Which opportunity we took advantage of. We remain there until 10 O. C. when we steam ahead. Pass Glendale about noon, it being 9 m. from Corinth we steam ahead to Iuka 28 m. from Corinth east. We arrive at ½ past 2 O. C. We get off & lounge about an hour or two & then march out 1 m. & camp. We raise our shelter tents. They look like a dog kennel more than anything else. Without it is a hen coop. They may be a good thing but I don't like to go out of doors to dress. It's a cold operation to say the least & it would not do if there was any women around. But we are not troubled with that sort of stock. We have a fatigue detail of 120 men, for the purpose of unloading & loading trains. All is bustle & confusion. Old John I. Rinaker takes command.

Nov. 2nd. Get up early & get our breakfast. Our Co. & two others are detailed on fatigue. We go up to town & do nothing, return to camp about 1 O. C. We hear various rumors, but it is generally supposed we will stay here a day or two & then go on.

Nov. 3rd. Still in our same camp. Receive some mail this morning. Have drill this morning. There is little doubt but that we will move ahead tomorrow or next day. I have to go on fatigue this afternoon. I work until 9 O. C. loading oats, that are to be reshipped to

Corinth. Our surplus baggage is also sent back. This place will be evacuated in a few days. Just as soon as we get to the Tenn. River. Some think we will not go through to Chattanooga, but march through to Eastport & remain there & protect the rear.

Nov. 4th. Morning rainy & very disagreeable & we have to march. Such is the rumor. We are not relieved until 10 O. C. on acct. of some wrong information. We start Eastport at 11 O. C. & go splashing through mud knee deep & very adhesive. Terribly so. We reach Eastport about 4 O. C. wet, muddy & tired & the 1st thing that is done is to detail 100 men on fatigue. Rough. But it has to be done. There is ten men killed in the army by exposure, where there is one shot in battle. What remained after the detail went to fixing up their shelter tents & trying to boil coffee. The rain ceases about 9 O. C. & it clears off. Our fatigue boys are having a serious time. They are loading wagons on the ferries & unloading them. They have to run them about 100 yds. by hand & the mud is from 6 inches to 1 ft. deep. Nice to say the least. We have been playing Paddy on the R. R. but the "Deck hand" gets us the worst. We wish we were back in Porter's Creek. Most of the troops have been ferried across & soon they will all be over.

Nov. 5th. Weather clear & rather cool. We are still in our same camp. It's not a very dry situation. We are to garrison this place for the time being. Col. Rinaker is to command the Post. This place is to be a place for landing supplies. We are to move our camp nearer town & on the top of a hill & on the top of that hill we are to build a fort, & now for a description of the place. The appearance of the country is hilly in the extreme. Hills are no name for them. Mountains would sound better. The town is between two ranges of hills, in a valley. The valley running to the river. On one side the east runs Bear River or rather creek. The hills are about 200 or 300 ft. in height covered with a stunted growth of pine. These hills are very steep. The angle being about 75 degrees & the one we are to be camped on is one of the highest & we will have to carry all our water up the hill. I'm detailed on picket this morning. It's lucky I won't be on fatigue. Our camp is moved today. Our picket post is only ¼ m. from camp. Yet it will take us 1½ h. to get there. Deliver me from such hills. I would prefer our Ills. prairies. It's a good position & think we can hold it.

Nov. 8th. I'm on picket or rather was relieved this morning. We had a good time. We stood on the banks of the Tenn. R. I wrote a letter home. Have not rec'd any from there since leaving Iuka. We have no idea when we will receive any. There is no hopes for several weeks. It will all go to Pulaski where our Brigade is stationed. I expect I better take a retrospective view of things. We were the only Reg't of our Div. (2 Div. 16th A. C.) that was left behind. Dodge's (Comdg. 2nd Div.) Head Q'rs is at Pulaski, Tenn. on the Nashville & Decatur Roads. We have no communication with them at all. We were left here to take care of the stores left here. We will have to go around by Paducah before we can get to our Div. Some think we will not go back to our Div. but yet we may. We are here without orders, not knowing what to do or where to go. We are to take care of the stores until further orders. I think from the appearance of things that we will not

stay long. It was thought Dodge would have to draw his supplies from here. But he don't & therefore there is no use of us staying longer.

Nov. 16th. A brigade of Eastern troops came here last night. They are the 35 N. Jersey. 17th N. York & the 178 N. Y. They were ordered to report at Eastport. Old Rinaker don't know what to do with them but has sent for instructions. They are poor excuses, awful poor, worse than nothing. They have half the men carrying big chunks of wood on their back, or standing on stumps, tied to a tree, or tied up by the thumbs. All this for little petty offences. They also kick & cuff the men around at a terrible rate. A rate that would not be tolerated in our Reg't. The men all detest their officers & would shoot them if they had a chance. If all the Army of the Potomac is like these, no wonder they have such poor success. Our Reg't could run the whole Reg't into the River. We dare not trust them on picket, for they desert by the wholesale.

Nov. 28th. We hear bully news today. Old Grant has whipped Bragg terribly. Driven him at every point. We have at last gained a decided victory. Grant captured 60 pieces of artillery & a great many prisoners. It's one of the greatest victories of the war. It has forever shut them out from Tenn. The great bone of contention. Gen. Sherman bore a conspicuous part in the battle. He's always on hand & will fight & has fighting men under him. Victory always crowns his efforts if he has ½ a chance. Hurrah for the army of the Tenn. Our Potomac friends went down the river on the 23d & today returned accompanied by two more Reg'ts, one of which is cavalry, 2 New Jersey. They are chips from the same block. Not worth a cuss & never will be.

Nov. 30th. Weather very cold. It snows & freezes & is cold generally. The wind is very sharp in particular on the top of these hills. We have to lay close. The army of the Potomac are having a hard time, to say the least. They have nothing but shelter tents. While we have nice little shanties with fireplaces. We used all the lumber up before they come. We tore up all the houses & made quite a town on the top of this hill. We are very comfortable, but Potomac is catching it. Unlucky to the last, kicked, cuffed, slammed around on the River, & last though not least half froze. Poor fellows. I thank the Lord I never came from the East. The cavalry are not worth any more than the infantry. They went out on picket & were drove in before morning by a man & woman, both mounted on mules & not armed. This ends their duty picket.

Dec. 6th. We rec'd marching orders yesterday but did not get on board until this evening at 2 O. C. Our destination is supposed to be Columbus, Ky. The post of Eastport is to be evacuated, "Potomac" & all are going. We are put on the Sunny South & Mattie Cook. Our company go as freight in the hold of the Sunny South. This puts me in mind an Irishman who wanted to go from St. Louis to New Orleans. He went up & asked the fare to New Orleans. $25.00 be dad & its very high it is. What would ye be after asking for 160 lbs of freight. $1.60. Sure & I'll go as freight thin, & as freight he went. This was our condition. We went as freight. A thing I'll not do when Uncle Sam gets

through with me. We did not make any start that evening at all. We only dropped down stream a little way & anchored.

Dec. 7th. We get under way early & go as far as Hamburg & there we have to stay until we send runners to Corinth for orders. This will delay us until tomorrow. Hamburg is just no place at all. Nothing but a landing & one or two old store houses. We tie up & remain there all day & night. Our runners return about 10 O. C. with orders for us to proceed to Columbus.

Dec. 8th. We make a start about 5 O. C. & steam down the River. We pass the renown battle ground of Shiloh about 10 O. C. Nothing remains but the desolate field or rather woods. Nothing to remind you of the struggle which took place there without it is a torn tree or half burned tents. I hope some day there will be a monument there to mark the place where heroes fell battling for freedom. You can see many graves. Some have head boards to tell who they were, others are unknown. That strange word. A hero has fallen & he is unknown. No, not unknown. He fell in a noble righteous & just cause. God knew it. Yes and that man had friends near & dear. They also knew him & loved him. The word is meaningless. Don't use it. Call him a "champion of Liberty." But we are passed the plain. The weather is cold & rainy. We are having a very disagreeable time. We run until about 6 O. C. & then have to tie up on acc't of the fog. We are having a very hard time. We all have to cook on one stove, & it's almost impossible to get to cook anything. We quarrel & grumble & eat our meat raw. We think ourselves well off if we get some coffee boiled.

Dec. 9th. Still raining & of course disagreeable. We run until about 9 O. C. when we have to anchor out & wait for the Sam Goty to be hauled off from a bar. We are delayed here about 3 hr. We get under way again & make good headway until 5 O. C. when we again tie up. There is one little thing I have omitted. All the fleet is lashed together two & two, or two together. This is to keep them from rocking. Also in case of being fired on, one can haul the other out in case either gets disabled. As it is not likely both will be disabled at the same time.

Dec. 10th. Get under way at 5 O. C. We will reach Paducah today. We pass Ft. Henry at 10 O. C. It is hardly fit to be called a fort. It's a very inferior earthwork, down low on the shore & easily reduced by gun boats, as history will show. Ft. Hyman on the other side of the river is better, but don't am't to much. We run ahead to Paducah. Arrived there about 11 O. C. A. M. & here we get off. They wanted Reg't & we had the choice of taking Paducah or going on to Columbus & we of course preferred Paducah, if for nothing else to get rid of our Potomac friends. We are sick of guarding them. It don't pay. We march out 1 m. & camp on the ground where the 101st was camped. Draw tents & pitch them. Cook our supper & roll up on the ground & sleep sound.

Dec. 11th. We were thinking of fixing up our tents but it commences to rain. We get plank enough to sleep. There was chimneys already built therefore we can have a fire. Paducah is a very nice place. One of the nicest places we have been in since we came to Dixie. There

has been about 15,000 inhabitants. The houses are in good repair & things look like America.

Dec. 12th. Weather clears off & we draw some plank to fix up our tents with. We go at with a will for the weather is getting pretty cool, with what we "got" & what drew. We make a good shanty. First we set posts at each corner & then nail plank on for sides, or rather walls & after raising the walls 4 ft. high we stretch our tents over for a roof. This makes a very comfortable house. We next build bunks at one end & have our fire in the other. We have not much room, but enough for cold weather. There is only 4 of us in a shanty. We are doing our own cooking, but are going to try & do different. We like the place very much. It's location is healthy & dry. We don't have to climb a mountain every time we want to go anywhere. It's likely we will not stay here long. Yet we may. Some think we will return to our Brigade, but I think not. The 101st has took our place.

Dec. 13th. Still in Paducah. Some are strong in the faith that we will remain here during the winter. We may & may not. Two Cos. B. & Q. go out to Mayfield 25 m. South. They went out for the purpose of catching some guerillas. They catch two or three & say are having it fierce & I expect they are. It is useless to follow up the dull routine of camp life. We have no change. All the same, I'm in poor health. Been under the weather for some time. This running about don't agree with me especially when we go on the river. I'd rather march then we can get good water & have a good clean place to sleep. We take ourselves. We are drove & now we are freight. So the world wags. Receive 15 letters this morning. Some two months old. Strictly speaking "back mail."

Dec. 22. This morning brings some of our American friends, Wm. Duckels, Tom Cundall, Hen Lee, Wm. Peebles & Carter Peebles's wife. All in a batch. They look just the same as ever a little older, not much. They report all well & quiet. They intend to stay a week or two. The weather is cold & rainy, mixed with sleet. A good day to catch quails, but not worth a cent to soldier in. We always prefer dry weather. It's pretty rough to have to winter so far North. I wish we had went to New Orleans or some other Southern town. The South is not such an awful place after all. It's a good place to soldier in. The climate is good for camping out in. It would kill off half our army if we had to winter in the North & have no better accommodations than we have here.

1864. Jan. 1st. It has snown all night & is awful cold, Ter. 26 degrees below zero. The snow is about 8 in. deep & drifted pretty bad. Some of the 58th Ill. freeze to death on picket (2). Our Co. (D) is ordered to report at the depot (R. R.) at 7 O. C. to escort Col. Hix out to Mayfield to make a speech. (He comd's the Post of Paducah.) The old locomotive is froze & they can't go & therefore return to camp. Some of them freeze their noses, ears, & etc. It is bitterly cold. We do nothing but make fires & sit by them.

Jan. 7th. Weather very cold. Snow still falling. The R. Roads are froze up & we get no communication from or with home. The Miss. is froze to Cairo. A thing rather uncommon. We wish we had stayed

farther South. Don't like to soldier in the North. A fellow can get along when he has a good warm house, but when he has to live in tents it's decidedly cool. Scott Peebles died last night, congestion of the bowels. He was only sick a few days. Thus go the boys one by one. Scott was one of the strongest men in the Co.

Jan. 17th. The snow is going off, making it sloppy enough. It will soon dry off & then we will be all right. We have rec'd marching orders. Where we are going is a mystery. Some say to the Red River country, others Memphis. But I have reason to believe we will go no farther than Cairo for the present at least. We are to leave Co's H. K. & C. here & I believe from that & other things that we will not go far. Receive a letter today filled with bad news. Sister Virginia is dead. It's bad but God's will be done. It seems hard that I can never see her familiar face again, but so it is. She's gone, never more to return. It's hard but will have to be endured. Oh I should like to have been there. But I could have done no good.

Jan. 19th. We leave Paducah about 9 O. C. on board the Rob-Roy. We go down stream. It's cold steamboating, not more than ½ can get to the fire & when you are there you freeze on one side & cook the other. We arrive at Cairo at about 2 O. C. Remain on board all night.

Jan. 20th. We remain on board until 1 O. C. when we got off & go into barracks. We relieve the 58th Ills. They are awful mad about it. They liked to stay here in Cairo. Yet strange to say the folks did not. They say they were a very drunken lot of scamps. Perfect rowdies. Not fit to go amongst decent folks & that is the reason we came here. If we behave (& I think we will) we will remain here a good while all summer at least. If we stay here some of our folks will come down & some of us will get to go home.

Jan. 27th. We get paid off today. Get 4 months pay $52.00 paid by Major Brown. We needed it no sure. We were all flat broke & in debt to the sutler. I did not owe him anything, but some of them did not have enough to pay him up. Woeful, but true. Boys will run in debt when they can get trusted, but when they cannot they get along just as well.

Jan. 30th. Day rainy & chilly. Mr. Hall & my Dad come down last night. They look fine. The same old folks. It does one good to see them. They report all well as home & all quiet. We are thankful for so much. I did not expect my Father down. That is not much. He brought me down some good medicine & now nothing is left but for me to get well. The camp diarrhea is pretty bad in camp. It's having to drink river water. If we had good water, we would like the place. But it is not.

Feb. 10th. It is useless to follow up the dull routine of life, anyhow of camp life. We eat, drink, go on guard & do other duties. The boys are going to the theater, pretty generally. I'm still attending the lectures on the prophecies of Revelation. They are very interesting. Very. There is three more. Boys all well.

(The following is taken from Book Number Two.)

Feb. 16th. Weather turned very cold last night. The wind raised about 2 O. C. & a more blustering & disagreeable day never was than it got up before morn. We try to keep warm but succeed poorly. It's a very sudden change to say the least. I'm now clerking for Cap. & will soon be stout again. It's strange but the duty is much harder than it ever was at any other place. The boys go on duty every other day. It's an easy place, but yet a hard one. We have an excellent place but the duty is very hard. That is the facts in the case. We have plenty to eat & wear. But we rather be farther South.

Feb. 29th. Weather cold. It rained all day yesterday, commenced sleeting about 4 O. C. Grew cold & froze up. We are going to have some weather. Sherman's expedition started from Meridian. The rebs don't like the way he is doing. He is within 20 m. of Montgomery. Where he is going is yet a secret. Maybe Mobile & maybe Atlanta. He has 35,000 men & 12,000 of them are cavalry besides 60 pieces of artillery. Strong force. It is thought he will join Grant's army & proceed to Atlanta. He'll turn up all right somewhere or else hurt some one. The next few weeks will be filled with stirring news. Some one will be hurt.

March 24th. Weather nice & dry. Nothing exciting. Rumor has it that we are to leave here & go to Columbus. Yet nothing definite. I guess we are stuck. We are having a hard time the boys are on guard every other night. So many are going off with prisoner, that none are hardly left to go on guard. Sherman passed through here day before yesterday en route for Washington. Rumor says we are in a fair way to see friend Forrest again. They say he is in the vicinity of Columbus. Yet he has no army of any acct. Only 6000 cavalry. There has some troops went after him & more will follow if needed. Columbus is threatened, yet that is all.

March 26th. We get marching orders at three o'clock. We get on board the Annie Byers. Reach Columbus at 3 O. C. Disembark about 10 O. C.

March 27th. We remain here all day. We today receive particulars of the fight. Forrest attacked Paducah on the 24th inst. but could not take it. We had only 500 men, three Co's of our Regt. H. C. & K. & 200 Ky. cavalry & 200 negroes. They fought until the 26, 2 O. C. When they withdrew, leaving 300 d. on the field & 800 wounded. Our loss 17 k. & 50 wounded. The gunboats made a strong resistance. The rebs were gloriously whipped. It is rumored that he is going to attack Columbus, but we will give him a warmer. That's our business. We will return tonight. If nothing is heard from the "old man."

March 28th. We are still in Columbus. The wind is so high that we cannot navigate, but will go as soon as the wind settles. Forest is still lurking in the region of Paducah. I believe he will again try to take the place. I wish they would send us there to help our boys.

March 29th. We arrived in Cairo last evening at 11 O. C. Forest is at Mayfield 25 m. from Pad. Is waiting for his artillery to come up & then intends to resume the attack. It seems to be his intention to

cross the river into Ills. I hope he will. It would serve some of the city right.

(There is a lapse from March 29, 1864 to June 26, 1864.)

June 26th. We are under marching orders & all packed up waiting for orders to go on board the transport. We have been trying to get off for two or three days & have at last got off. We are relieved by 1000 men, 139th Ill. Supposed to be a good Regt. but wholly composed of little boys; caked breasts will be rather numerous in the north. But as they are *national guards* we should not make fun of them. They can not leave their mamas longer than 3 m. Children should be under the eye of their mother. We don't know where we are going. Time will decide where.

June 27th. We got abroad the Magenta at 7 O. C. Got under way about 9 P. M. There was a large congregation assembled on the wharf. Some good citizens, but many women of easy virtue. We leave Cairo, perhaps some of us forever. But some will soon return for good. Then won't we be joyful. We pass Columbus in the night. Pass I's No. 10 about daylight. Nothing remains to be seen of the once boasted stronghold. It stands a sad monument of Rebel success. Then prate of never subduing them. The weather is beautiful, clear & hot, but there is a good breeze stirring making it very comfortable. The scenery is too much of a sameness, nothing but sand-bars. There is quite an elevation at Ft. Pillow, but not near so high as I had imagined. It's no more than 75 ft. high & simply a claybank. There is no troops stationed there. The works are deserted & the works destroyed. I expect Old Pillows Ghosts hovers around about there. Woe be unto us, if his ghost begins to travel. It seems that we are followed by disaster since U. S. left us. We make Memphis about 6 O. C., all safe, sound & hot. Our ice gave out about 1 O. C. & we had to take river water dry so. It being a sore job. We arrive too late to get off & consequently sleep another night on the Magenta. Mosquitoes make sundry attacks on us. We cover up with rubber blankets, but soon we see our rubbers will be ruined for they make no defense against them. We have to resort to fighting, desperate fighting. Bloody & terrible encounters are fought with but little success. Their bands still play that soul stirring air which inspired them with desperation & it's no wonder for it did me too.

Morning, June 28th. The hordes have dispersed & we are all in a bustle. We get off here. Our destination is Tenn. We are to join Smith. We unload & go out 2½ m. & camp in a grove. A shady & cool place. Memphis is one of the nicest places we were ever in, that is in the South. The streets have rows of trees planted along the sides, splendid gardens & nice houses, but yet the same carelessness marks everything. Southerns are all lazy. Memphis has been an aristocratic place, but has been humbled. Terribly humbled. Woe be unto the transgressor. Hard is his path.

June 30th. We have concluded here for awhile. We muster for pay today. But probability says we won't get paid for two months more. There is a rumor that we are not going South. Also grapevine has it that Smith has met a whipped Forest, capturing 5000 prisoners, too good

to be true. There is also a rumor that Sheridan has had a fight & got himself worsted. Also that Sherman has met with a repulse. All these are rumors, are all rumors & not reliable. I hope there is no truth in them & have faith to believe it. Re'd a letter from Cousin Luther. He's well.

LaGrange, July 4. We left Memphis last evening & here at LaGrange. There is a large force here, 20,000, pretty heavy force of cavalry too. What is the object of the expedition has not yet developed. But my opinion is we will lay around here all summer. Men cannot march. It's too hot & Forest's troops are all cavalry. I hope we will not have to march & therefore I try to make myself believe we won't. The boys tried to make the troops on R. R. believe we were 100 d. men & they succeeded very well. But when we came to an hundred day Reg't they would inquire if they "drew butter," or if their Q. M. issued eggs. Or if they asked what Reg't ours, we would tell them the same old Reg't only we had drawn new clothes & pegged shoes. The 100 d. men have to bear a great deal, poor fellows. They had not ought to have left Mamas. When we arrived at the depot we had to march 2½ m. to camp through sand 5 in. deep. To say it was dusty would not express the matter at all. We camped in line of battle 1st but found we had camped in some Reg'ts Privy & therefore the right wing had to "pull up stakes" & march to the front of the left wing, where it was cleaner. We are camped in "Wolf River" bottom, a very shady, cool place & plenty of good water. If we were at home today we would be fixing to celebrate the 4th be going after our gal. But now, alas. It's all a dream. There is no "knick knacks," lemonade, big speeches or pretty gals. Bad, very bad. The sound that calls my attention is come & draw your "hard tack" & bacon. A welcome sound to a soldier. We have left all our clothes & such in camp at Memphis, to remain until sent for. We have our tent, rubber & haversacks & canteen, & an extra pair of socks. We are strictly "in the field," in the front in active service. Hurrah for us. This evening as I had been very civil all day & had but one fuss with our illustrious Or'd I concluded to go out & shoot some squirrels against orders, as the boys had been doing it all day. Also some of the officers had been at it too, so I went out, treed Mr. Squirrel & commenced firing. Had shot twice when lo Mr. Patroll came up & arrested us & took us to the officer of the day. He formed us in line & right faced us & forward marched. As luck had it I was in the rear & he did not think about putting a guard in the rear. In this way we started to Reg'tl Hd. Quarters. The timber was thick & the first tree we came to I went through with the movement known as a "side step to the right," which movement placed me behind the tree & there I remained until they were out of sight when I broke for camp, arriving there safe. Went after water for breakfast & then went to bed.

July 5th. Morning clear & warm. We have rumors that we are going to move today. But nothing but rumors. I don't believe them. The object of this expedition has not yet come to light. I guess no one but Gen'l S. knows anything about it. It's all for the best. I went to see my old Professor at McKendree yesterday. He is Col. of 117th Ill.

Inf. His name is Moore. He's the same rough & ready. He's a fine man. A great many of the boys are with him & like him very much. He's rather loose in discipline they say, but the boys look clean & well, all I have to say is I hope he will get through all right. We receive marching orders at 4 O. C. & march out on the Holly Springs road. We march 6 m. & camp. The whole army is in motion. The place where we are going is not yet developed. We have a very nice shower making it nice marching. We camp on Wolf River, 7 m. from LaGrange.

July 6th. We roused up at 2 O. C. Get our breakfast & prepare to march. We are in for it now. The boys are in good condition & are in as good condition for a long march as we ever were. I do not anticipate any fight will be shown. I only wish he would. We could whip him. The day is terribly hot. Sun strokes are very common, about 20 were struck down. I don't see the use in the murder of men. We march on the Ripley road. We are within 16 m. of Ripley. Oh good God, why is this war. I sometimes think it will do no good but to gratify the ambition of some Gen'l. I think war is nuisance. We camp. Water is very scarce. We get some spring water, but it's very roily. This is soldiering under difficulties. We go to bed & sleep.

July 7th. We are aroused up at 2 O. C. & start at 4. It's nice marching. It rained some in our front. We reach where it had about ½ 5. We put in good time. All the boys are all able to march. They are spunky. It's a pity to murder such good men. They die & nothing. A man that is a good soldier is all right for the walks of life. We march hard until noon. It's awful hot. It's worse than hot, it's baking hot. The rain clouds are flying around making it sweltering hot. We halt at noon & eat a little dinner & go ahead. Ripley is 5 m. where it is rumored Forest is in force. I don't believe it is so. I'll not believe he means to fight until he commences. We are very hot but not much tired. We have no load & if it was cool could march 20 m. per day. All the boys are up tonight. We camp in a bottom near a little dirty creek. Water, oh for one more good drink cold pure water. But it's very scarce. We are all willing to go back to Memphis, or anywhere else if we can get along without marching. Why are we not all mounted. What's the use of a man making a horse of himself. Why is there not some machine invented "that will fight," or why will men fight. Yes, that's the knotty point why will men fight. God only knows & this is one of his mysterious ways of performing wonders. Is it by his permission that men meet to kill? of course. His almighty could stop it if he wished to. But enough. Poor insignificant me can do nothing & I'll therefore watch and wait.

July 8. We are roused up early & get our breakfast, draw rations & prepare. We don't start until ½ P. 5. We march in the rear today. That's a bad state of affairs but I guess we can stand it. We halt about noon & rest. We then pull ahead & camp. We passed through the town of Ripley. It's a very nice place. . It's not been torn to pieces. Sturgis retreated through there & it was said that they treated our men very well. Some of our wounded were still there. We go ahead & camp 6 m. from there, in one of the prettiest camping grounds in Dixie.

Plenty of good spring water, forage of all description. I'll have to tell a little incident that happened. One of our party went into the smoke house & thought he had found a prize in the shape of a barrel of molasses. He said he could carry it to camp. I helped him on with it & off he went. I got a jug that would hold enough for us & caught up with him. I made him put it down & we turned the tap & lo out came, well, varnish. We were sold. We left that & got some apples & a sheep & had a good supper & went & washed & went to sleep.

July 9, Sat. We start at 4 O. C. Our Div. is in the front. It's terrible hot & we march like the deuce. If we had not good roads to march on we could never have stood up to it. We are passing through some very nice country. Crops have been splendid all the way through, corn, wheat & potatoes. We are in on the potatoes. We have for supper, potatoes, onions, beef, coffee & hard tack. Sumptuous for a soldier. Our cavalry have a little fight but drive the rebs. We camp on the little Hatchie, 18 m. from Ripley. We go ahead in the morning. It rains this evening makes it quite cool. We are ordered to get up at 3 O. C.

July 10th, Sunday. We were roused up & got in readiness. An order is read to the effect that those who did not have 40 rounds of ammunition were to draw them & if used up carelessly, they were to charge them at $100 a piece. We then start at 5 O. C. We march in the rear. Go slow & get along very well. Our cavalry have a little skirmish & capture 4 pris. They could not catch any more. We march within 6 m. of Pontotoc. We can hear the rebel train whistle. If there is any fight in them we will give them a chance tomorrow. I wish we could use him up & go back. We have a fine mess of black berries. They go fine. I wash my shirt, socks & myself & feel fine. It's likely we will be roused up early in the morning.

July 11th, Monday. We are roused up at 1 O. C. get in readiness. We don't get started until 6 O. C. We are train guard today. We get along fine but we march slow in the morning & have to quick in the evening, or rather at noon. For that's our style, we go slow in the morning & when it gets hot we quick. I suppose it can't be helped. We march to Pontotoc 7 m. & there go into camp. We had just got into camp when we were ordered out on picket. We march out & only just get into camp when the cavalry get into a skirmish & fight pretty sharp, but we don't see any of them. We have a heavy shower making it quite cool. But rain don't suit soldiers that's all.

Tuesday, 12th. All quiet this morning. We get our breakfast & prepare to march, but receive orders to the effect that we will remain here all day. We need a day's rest. We stew apples, get blackberries & make ourselves as comfortable as possible. We are relieved about 2 O. C. & go to camp. Have some difficulty in getting Co. "I" out of our place in camp, but they have to vacate. We draw three days rations. Scant. It is rumored that we return tomorrow but I guess it's all a hoax. But where we are going is entirely in the dark. Old Smith knows how to keep his own secrets. It's all right too. We are all worried out. We don't get hardly any sleep. Go to bed at 9 & get up at 2 O. C. This mixed up with hard marching makes a hard dose. There is one consolation it can't last always. We are skirmishing with the enemy all the

while but not heavy. No one gets hurt. Forest has a pretty heavy force, but we can whip him if there is not some mismanagement. It has the appearance of rain, but I don't think it will rain. It has rained enough for the present. It better wait until we need it again. Providence seems to be in our favor in that respect. It has rained just ahead of us almost every day laying the dust nicely. We will give Providence its dues any way.

Wednesday, 13th. We start very early & march very fast. (It's 4 O. C. when we start.) We take the Tupelo road. The forenoon is cloudy but it does not rain. We halt at noon. Eat a snack & go ahead. We march ahead at quick time. We keep it up until ½ p. 3, when our wagon train is attacked & we are halted & formed in line of battle. We are in line 1½ m. from Tupelo. Tupelo being 19 m. from Pontotoc. They attack our forces in the rear & try to take our supply train, but are handsomely repulsed. There was 2 Regts. of them. The 33 Iowa & 14th Minn. were the Regts. that repulsed them. They captured one stand of colors, one Major & three men, killing 60 & wounding 150. Ours was 16 killed & 20 wounded. Our train comes up all right about 8 O. C. It's rumored that we will have a general engagement tomorrow.

Thursday, 14th. We get up early. Get our breakfast. Skirmishing commences at daylight. It's first in our rear then on our front, then on our rear again then on our left. We then are ordered to get ready to march. We march to the rear (East) & then form in line in a northeasterly direction in a corn field. We stew around considerably before getting in the right position. Finally we settle down. It's now 6 O. C. & the skirmishing has considerably subsided. At seven they come, our batteries open & firing becomes lively. We are ordered forward. We move forward to the fence & commence firing on the Rebs. They charge us & are repulsed. They go back & reform & charge again. They open on us with one battery & play pretty lively. It's getting very warm. They charge again right up within 100 yds, but are repulsed with severe loss. The Battery gets good range & we have to fall back. We stay back about 5 minutes when we are again ordered up. They make another charge & we again repulse them & they withdraw. Some Reg't on our right go ahead (7 Minn.) & they retreat back. Their artillery still continues sullenly to fire but is soon withdrawn. Skirmishing continues at 10 O. C. We were in the engagement 2¼ hrs. We lost 4 in wounded, Geo. Peebles, Delany, J. C. Peebles, Corp'l Johnson. Don't know how bad yet. 10½ O. C. now & fighting continues. 11 O. C. fighting has ceased. Forest is falling back. He is whipped, terribly whipped. His loss is estimated at 400 killed & 2000 wounded. He charged our lines in all directions & were repulsed. We have gained a decisive victory. Our loss is 300 killed & wounded. I think we have done a good thing. Our Reg't the right was in the heaviest part of engagement. The shell & solid shot dropped in around us close. The corn is cut off by the shell & canister. They tear up the dirt & made it pretty scarry. Our Co. does some excellent fighting & cooler & more deliberate set of men I never saw. I went over the field & dead lay thick. I did not pass over all the field & I counted 80 dead. These were in front of our Reg't. I believe we will find out that their loss will be at least 600 & 3000

wounded. We fired 60 rounds to the man. Our guns so hot that we could hardly load. The dirt in our guns gets so thick that we can hardly load. If the tallow was not on the balls we could not have fired near so much. But now it's all over. Col. Nelson, Col. Faulkner, Col. Harris are killed & it is rumored that Gen'l Forest is also killed, but I guess it's not true. There is no fighting until about 5 O. C. when skirmishing commences in our front. They drive our cavalry in & open a battery on us. Their range is excellent & the shell fly over our heads close, some strike the ground & bound over us. But no one is hurt & they cease & our batteries take no notice of them so the firing ceases. We are ordered to lay down keeping their arms by us. About 9 O. C. the fighting commences on our left. Heavy. Yell after yell. Charge after charge. It was the negro troops that they were massing upon but they stood their ground & the 3d Brig. of our Div. charged on them & the Rebs got out of there. This ended the fight & all was quiet through the rest of the night.

Friday, 15th. We lay in our place until 7 O. C. when we march out on our retrograde course. We march out on the Ripley road. We march about three m. when we hear cannonading in our rear. We are halted & formed in line. We march around about ½ h. & hear they are repulsed. We then go ahead. We get to a little creek & cross when they again send word that the Rebs have again attacked. Our Reg't is ordered back. We march back about ½ m. & hear it's all right. We lay on that side of the creek until the train has all passed & then march over & camp. About 5 O. C. the Rebs begin to shell us from the other side of the creek. They then charge across the creek but are repulsed with heavy loss. All is quiet the rest of the even.

Saturday, 16th. We start early or at least the army does. We are in the rear. There is some fighting but none of any consequence. We march 15 m. & camp on Big Muddy, sometimes called Black Bottom. We expected to have some trouble here but we have none. We have issued to us three ½ crackers to last us three days.& a piece of meat 1 inch sq. & this is all we have to last us back to LaGrange. There is no chance but to forage. We get some potatoes & have potatoes & coffee for supper. Sumptuous.

Sunday, 17th. We have no trouble with the enemy, they have concluded to let us alone. We start at four O. C. & march to the Tallahatchie & there camp. The town is called New Albany. The town has played out, nothing but the chimneys remaining. The sad remains of war. We have no trouble with the Rebs. They have concluded to let us alone. We are getting very short of rations. Our bread has give out also our pork. Nothing to eat, that's a bad state of affairs. We foraged some flour & had some pancakes. That with coffee made our supper. We then went & washed our dirty selves, came back cooked some mush for breakfast & went to bed, with orders to be ready at 1 O. C.

Monday, 18th. Are roused up at 1 & eat our breakfast & start at ½ P. 3. We have to cross the Tallahatchie which takes us an hour. We then take the Salem road. Salem is 20 m. from New Albany. So they say. We march hard all day & 12 m. from Salem. How uncertain distances are. We camp on a little spring branch which is very good water. We

get no hard tack but have flour & shorts & plenty of meat & therefore we make pancakes & get along fine.

Tuesday, 19th. We get started early. We make good time for an hour or two but have to cross Coldwater & that takes up a great deal of time. We march to Salem which is 14 m. from LaGrange. We meet a supply train & again draw rations. We are all right again. I expect we will go to LaGrange tomorrow. I'm glad. I'm tired of marching this hot weather. We get our suppers and go to bed.

July 20th. We start for LaGrange at 6 O. C. They say they call it 16 m. I expect it's 20. It's very hot & dusty. We take near cuts. So through the woods & get along very well. We march pretty fast in the afternoon & get within 3 m. of LaGrange & camp. We have excellent water & plenty to eat. We go to bed & sleep sound. We will go into LaGrange tomorrow where we will take the train for Memphis.

July 21st. Thurs. We march to LaGrange & camp 1½ m. from town in the woods. It's a very pleasant place. Plenty of water & good shade. We have no idea when we will leave. We have no clean clothes & our dirty ones are worn out. We are through marching for the present, I hope. It's too hot. It's no use to kill men in such weather & it will kill men. I suppose we will remain in Memphis until we go up Red River. I wish our term was out, then they might whistle. We take a good wash, wash our shirts & clean up to the best of our advantage. We write some letters & receive our mail, which makes us feel a great deal better. We have plenty to eat. Hurrah for us.

Friday, 22nd. We sleep until sun up. Get our breakfast & lay around until noon when we get orders to march. We have to march to Memphis. Our Col. swears & cusses. But can't ride. It's no use. March is the word & march it is, being unwell I go & get on the cars & ride. The Reg't starts at ½ P. 1 & the cars at 2 O. C. We arrive at Memphis at 7 O. C. Walk out to our camp which is 1 m. Our convalescents are in good health. We get some supper & go to bed.

Saturday, 23d. We sleep as late as we please & then get our breakfast & spend most of the day in sleep. It seems good to be in camp once more. We put on a clean shirt & wash with soap once more. We look like men, white men again. The Reg't gets up about 6 O. C. They march as far as Colierville & there took the train. They have not taken any camping ground yet. Our officers are so slow always. They never get up & take care of themselves & therefore get soaked.

Sunday, 24th. Sunday again. We are camped out in the sun. They say we will move to some better place soon. We get no mail. Everything seems to go wrong. It's rumored we are to leave soon for another campaign. But I don't believe it. They surely cannot think of marching us anymore.

July 27th. We have moved our grounds, that is we have moved our camp. We are camped where the 9th Ill. Cav. were still farther from town. It's a very pleasant place, shady & out of the dust. We will soon make a nice camp out of it. I wrote a letter to Sister C. today & have been doing Co. business all day. Turning over ordnance unserviceable & making clothing receipt rolls & c. I'm in camp under a tree.

Our H'd. Q'rs are in the woods. We have orders to get ready to march but have not got marching orders & may not get them.

July 29th. Friday. We still quietly laying in camp. Nothing strange happening. The 1st Div. is going out to LaGrange again whether we will follow is not yet known but it is not thought well, time will decide. We don't get any mail. What is the cause. I expect they don't write. I'm unwell & have been ever since I returned. I used up. I'll soon be all right.

Aug. 4th. We are under marching orders again. We are going in the same direction, but farther than that we know nothing. We are leaving 120 men here in the hospital. This marching is going to use up most of us. We don't get much mail. What is the matter, don't they write or don't they come. I guess they don't write. Our wagons have gone. We are going on the R. R. as far as Collierville from there we march to Holly S.

Aug. 7th. Sunday. We started from Memphis at ½ p. 9 O. C. Our destination was supposed to be Holly S. We make very poor time having nothing but green wood. We arrived at G. J. at 4 O. C. P. M. We go ahead to Holly S. where we get off & camp. We passed through some very nice country. Plenty of nice peaches on the side of the R. R. Ripe. Provoking. We had to go right along and leave them. We almost wished we were marching, not quite though. We see plenty of corn, cotton & wheat. The Rebs never will starve. No use of riding that "Hobby" any longer. They will lack nothing but meat & of that they have plenty with being saving. There is plenty of beef & mutton & considerable pork. Can't starve them out & will certainly have to whip them. That has not played out yet, nor do I think it will yet 1 more year & then we will see.

Aug. 8th. Monday morning. Clear & hot. But we are not going to march. That's the good of it. I don't think we are going to have to march soon. We may in the course of a month or two. Then it will be cool & we can stand it. I always hope for a good time. Always look on the bright side.

(This ends Book Number Two. The following is taken from Book Number One.)

Recapitulation

We have now brought things up to the present time. We have been as accurate as possible. We have noticed some of the great battles & great changes. We see our army slowly but surely advancing & seen the convulsions shaking the North & threatening to inaugurate a civil war. Then we see our armies gaining success after success. Then we see a sudden revulsion of feeling & all becomes quiet. There is no fear of any outbreak. Everybody sees the good effects of the proclamation. They are not opposed to freeing the negroes when they see it is to become popular. The leading politicians think it will not pay to oppose the measure & therefore swallow it & all become quiet. All are in favor of prosecuting the war. Recruiting is brisk and all looks encouraging. Old Reg'ts reenlist & are filled up, while the Rebel authorities have

to compel all theirs to remain. We fill ours up by volunteers. They have to conscript boys & old men. We have an abundance of provisions & they hardly have sufficient to keep soul & body together. We have all the clothing we want & they have not enough to keep them warm. Prices are very reasonable in the North, while in the South things are beyond all reason. They have but little amunition while we have an abundance of everything. From these facts who will conquer. Who stands the best chance.

In the beginning of the war they had all our munitions of war. Everything had been shipped South. That traitor Floyd, and the dotard Bucannan. Give them all the capital to carry on a war with & we had to construct all. Yes, all. They were ready to strike & ready to carry on the war & it's always been a wonder to me that we did not meet with more reverses than we did, but the people rose "en masse." It required only 10 days to raise & equip Reg'ts. Some were in Washington in six days & many were there in 20 days.

The Rebs took possession of all the strong points on their frontier & prepared to carry on the war in earnest. If they had moved North in the commencement the effect would have been very disastrous. We could have never resisted them until great damage had been done. Yet they lost their opportunity. Our armies were organized & a series of bloody encounters took place. Our frontier was cleared & the scale turned. Victory crowned all our efforts & the rebellion grows smaller every day, until now its size is very diminutive.

Their Confederacy is cut into & the productive part is in our possession. There is no earthly chance for them. Only foreign help & that's very slim. I can see no chance for them but to give up. Great was their struggle for the possession of East Tenn. Bragg drew reinforcements from the east until the whole rebel army was before Chattanooga. Yet they were repulsed in two terrible conflicts & had to retire. Our army was not as strong last Spring as it will be next. Theirs was stronger last Spring than it will ever be again. Who is there that will say we can never conquer them. No one but a lunatic or fool. We are testing the experiment of a free Gov. Shall we fail. No. Europe is looking on with the keenest anxiety. They expected us to totter & fall in the commencement but were surprised at our upraising. The despots hoped to see our Gov. fall. We were drawing too many of their subjects & their subjects were beginning to be discontented. But when this war broke out they lay quiet and are watching with terrible interest the progress of this war & if we succeed in establishing our Gov., *then you may look for European struggles for liberty.* We are the hope of the world & shall we prove recreant to the trust. No. Our Gov. will be established & be ten times stronger than ever. Then let us hope & trust God is in this war & will cause the wrath of men to praise him.

I don't mean that God inaugurated this war, but I mean to say he will see that it is ended on the side of the right & the terrible curse which has so long stained our otherwise free Gov. will be blotted from existence. I'm no abolitionist yet I want slavery wiped out. We have prospered since the war was carried on, on the new principle & as long

as it is we will prosper. What is the prospect of an early peace. Pretty Good. Our armies are preparing for an advance in the Spring from almost every point. Our armies will be recruited & all the old troops will reenlist as veterans. Therefore our army will be far more effective than it ever was before. What is the condition of the Confederate army. Do their subjects volunteer. No they resort to conscription. Do their old troops reenlist. No they are compelled to remain by an act of Congress. They can scarcely subsist their present army. How would they provide for one twice as large. They can't do it. They used to get large quantities of beef from Texas. Also horses & mules. But now not one, nor a lb. of beef. They used to run the blockade, now not one in twenty get through. What is the prospect of peace. Good. Flattering. A vigorous campaign this spring & they will have to give up. One more year & I believe peace will again shed its showers of happiness over this fair land of ours. I can see no other result. Nothing can possibly reverse our *run of luck,* unless it is foreign intervention, which grows more remote every day. It's true European despots would like to see us ruined. Yet they fear their own thrones. Freedom is the watchword & despotisms fear it. They dare not war upon it, for fear of the upraising of public feeling. The raising of the populace & therefore they will let us alone. The sky is clearing off. The thunders grow more distant & soon the clash of arms will cease.

This is my opinion. Poor it's true. Yet it is an opinion. I have written this carelessly (the whole book). Some things may be interesting. Others will not. The first is a diary of the principal events since leaving Camp Palmer. to the present time. In the latter part will be found the roll of the Company up to January. This is all we have pretended to do.

Respects of Wm. H. H. Ibbetson.

Excuse mistakes. For this was written under difficulties.

WHEN THIS CRUEL WAR IS OVER

I

Dearest love do you remember
When we last did meet.
How you told me that you loved me
Kneeling at my feet.

Chorus

Weeping sad and lonely
Hopes and fears, how vain.
When this cruel war is over
Praying that we meet again.

II

Oh, how proud you stood before me
In your suit of blue
When you vowed to me and country,
Ever to be true.

Chorus

III

When the summer breeze is sighing
Mournfully along
Or when autumn leaves are falling
Sadly breathes the song.

Chorus

IV

Oft in dreams I see thee lying
On the Battle plain.
Lonely, wounded, even dying,
Calling, but in van.

Chorus

V

If amid the din of Battle,
Nobly you should fall.
Far away from those who love you
None to hear your call.

Chorus

VI

Who would whisper words of Comfort,
Who would soothe your pain.
Ah! the many cruel fancies
Ever in your brain.

Chorus

VII

But our Country calls you darling
Angels cheer your way.
While our nations sons are fighting
We can only pray.

Chorus

VIII

Nobly strike for God and Liberty,
Let all nations see.
How we love the starry Banner
Emblem of the Free.

Chorus

Weeping sad and lonely
Hopes and fears how vain.
When this cruel war is over
Praying that we meet again.

Muster roll of Co. D. 122nd Ills. Vol. Infty. From Jan. 1863 to Jan. 1864. Noting the various events & changes which have taken place in the meantime. We will have to go back with some of our Co. to 1862, but only those who have been discharged. The reader will have to overlook a few mistakes & charge it to my ignorance.

W. H. H. Ibbetson.

Rank and Names.	Remarks.
Cap. L. P. Peebles	Present in Co. for duty until July 22nd when detached on court martial at Pocahontas, Tenn., by order, Augustus Mercy, Act. Brig. Gen. Absent on furlough from Sep. 6th to Sep. 28th. Ordered back to Co. Oct. 21st. Since present for duty.
1 Lt. James N. Holt	Present for duty until Jan. 21st when detailed as Reg't. Q. M. Returned for duty Jan. 25th. Detailed in Trenton, Tenn. until March 12th when returned for duty. Under arrest from April 4th to May 23d for kicking Chapino, Post M. Returned to duty by release. Resigned August 24th, 1863. (Homesick.)
Lt. 2. Henry C. Gooding	Present for duty until Oct. 24th, 1863, when absent detached in Corinth, Miss., as Judge Advocate by order G. M. Dodge, Gen. com'd'g. Returned for duty Nov. 4th, 1863. Detailed as Post Ag't, Eastport, Miss., by order Col. J. I. Rinaker, Comd'ng Post, Returned sick.
1st Sergt. John F. Roach	Present for duty until July 23, when absent on furlough until Aug. 22nd. Since present for duty.
2nd Sergt. John C. Peebles	Present for duty until March 7th, when detailed as ordnance Serg't, by order Col. Drish, Comdng. Regt. Also ac't color Serg't.
3d Sergt. William P. Oliver	Present for duty since enlisted.
4th Sergt. Edward G. Duckels	Present for duty since enlisted.
5th Sergt. Sam'l Cramer	Present for duty since enlisted.
Corpl. 1st Joseph C. Hall	Present for duty since enlisted.
Corpl. 2. William S. Harlan	Discharged for disability Nov. 26th, 1862, by order U. S. Grant, Maj. Gen. Comdn'g Western Dp't.

Rank and Names.	Remarks.
Corpl. 3. W. H. H. Ibbetson	Present for duty since enlisted. Also acting Color Corp'l.
Corpl. 4. John J. Leach	Present for duty since enlisted.
Corpl. 5. James L. Murphy	Present for duty until July 18th, 1863, when discharged by order the President.
Corpl. 6. F. L. Ledbrook	Present for duty until March 28, 1863, when detached in Pioneer corps, Corinth, Miss., by order G. M. Dodge, Comdng. Left W. 16 A. C.
Corpl. 7. Lucius B. Corbin	Present for duty until July 20, 1863, when detached in Pioneer Corinth, Miss., by order G. M. Dodge, Gen. Comdng.
Corpl. 8. John T. Johnson	Present for duty since enlisted.
Corpl. 9. John R. Cundall	Promoted from Private Feb. 15th, by order Cap. Peebles comdng. Co.
Private Andrews, Hobert M.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Ashton, John	Present for duty until July 30th, 1863, when detailed as hospital cook in Salisbury, Tenn., by order of J. I. Rinaker.
Private Atterberry, David A.	Present for duty until Sep. 13th when taken pris. by the enemy at Porter's Creek, Tenn.
Private Andrews, Robt. F.	Present for duty until Dec. 20th, 1862, when taken pris. at Humboldt, Tenn., exchanged and returned for duty Oct. 13th. Absent sick in Mound City since Nov. 1st.
Private Barber, John	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Brown, Charles	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Bell, Joseph R.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Mus. Brown, McJ.	Present for duty until Dec. 31st, 1862, when taken pris. at Parker's Cross Roads. Exchanged and returned for duty, Oct. 13th, 1863.
Private Brown, M. S.	Present for duty until Dec. 20th, 1862, when taken pris. at Trenton, Tenn. Exchanged and returned for duty Oct. 13, 1863. Present for duty until Nov. 9th when detailed as clerk in Post comm. Eastport, Tenn., by order Col. J. I. Rinaker, comdng. Post.
Drummer Beck, Oscar	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Craine, John S.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Craggs, John	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Coonrod, John F.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Corrington, J. F.	Present for duty until Feb. 4th, 1863, when detailed as Ag't Gen. office, Jackson, Tenn., by order Gen. Sillivan. Returned for duty March 12th. Present until May 8th when detached as clerk in Div. H'd Q'rs, by order G. M. Dodge, Gen. comdng.
Private Summings, Thornton	Present until June 2nd, 1863, when died Regtl. Hospital, Corinth, Miss.
Private Cummings, Corum A. G.	Present for duty until Feb. 27th when absent without leave.
Private Cantrill, Joseph F.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Crays, John W.	Present for duty since enlisted.

Rank and Names.	Remarks.
Private Colman, Fitzgerald	Present for duty until Dec. 20th when taken pris. at Trenton, Tenn. Exchanged and returned for duty Oct. 13th, 1863. Since present for duty.
Private Delaplain, Eugene W.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Delaplain, Jerome W.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Delaplain, John B.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Delany, William M.	Present on daily duty in Regtl. Hospital as nurse, until Aug. 20th, 1863, when returned to Co. for duty.
Private Dowden, Albert	Absent in Hospital, Jackson, Tenn. Died March 29th, 1863.
Private Eastwood, Francis M.	Present for duty until Sep. 19th, 1863, when detailed as div. ambulance driver, by order Brig. Gen. G. M. Dodge.
Private Holmes, Alfred	Present for duty until Feb. 2nd, 1863, when detailed as nurse in hospital. Ordered back to Co. Nov. 14th, 1863. Since pres. for duty.
Private Howell, William S.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Harlan, Isaac W.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Harlan, Lorenzo B.	Present for duty until Dec. 20, 1862, when taken pris. at Humboldt, Tenn. Exchanged and returned for duty Oct. 13th, 1863. Since detailed as Div. teamster, by order G. M. Dodge comdng. 2nd Div. 16 A. C.
Private Hagler, John F.	Present for duty until Dec. 31st, 1863, when wounded at Parker's Cross Roads, in the knee, died of wounds in Jackson, Tenn. Feb. 13th, 1863.
Private Irwin, John S.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Johnson, Isaac N.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Jemison, Alexander	Present for duty until July 25th, 1863, when detached in Pioneer Corps, Corinth, Miss., by order G. M. Dodge, comdng.
Private Kell, Rob't	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Kincaide, Archibald	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Lee, Jesse W.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Litten, Jesse	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Lanning, Aaron	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Langan, Hugh E.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Lee, George	Principal musician on Regt. staff until March 27th when transferred back to Co. in compliance to order 41 from War dept. dispensing with principal musician. Detailed as ambulance driver April 14th. Since relieved and on daily duty as musician.
Private Loveland, Timothy	Detailed in Trenton, Tenn., as clerk in Provost Marshal's office until March 16th, 1863, when absent without leave, until April 1st when reported for duty. Since present.
Private Mills, John H.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private McGahey, George W.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Moffitt, Andrew	Sick with wounds in Jackson, Tenn., rec'd at Parker's Cross Roads Dec.

Rank and Names.	Remarks.
	31st, 1862. Returned to duty at Corinth, Miss., May 19th, 1863. Since present for duty.
Private McNeil, Henry F.	Present for duty until July 23d when absent on furlough until Aug. 26th when returned for duty. Since present.
Private McGahey, William	Present for duty until Jan. 12th, 1863, when sick in Hospital, Trenton, Tenn. Died in Jackson, Tenn., April 16th, 1863.
Private Nevins, John	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Nevins, M. V.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Nevins, Robt.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Finch, Geo. E.	Killed Parker's Cross Roads, Dec. 31st, 1862.
Private Peter, Samuel	Killed Parker's Cross Roads, Dec. 31st, 1862.
Private Peter, Henry	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Pinckard, James B.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Peebles, Winfield S.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Peebles, Geo. W.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Paddock, Henry L.	Present for duty until Sep. 22, when discharged for disability, by order Maj. Gen. S. A. Hurlburt.
Private Pugh, John	Present for duty until Sep. 14th, 1863, when taken pris. at Porter's Creek, Tenn., by the enemy.
Private Pogmore, Robt.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Robbings, Ambrose	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Shepherdson, Geo.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Sawtell, William	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Saurins, William	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Smith, Joseph B.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Sell, Jacob	Present for duty until Sep. 14th, 1863, when taken pris. at Porter's Creek, Tenn.
Private Stratton, William	Present for duty until Nov. 4th, 1863, when detailed as Div. teamster, by order G. M. Dodge.
Private Slater, James H.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Shane, John W.	Present for duty until Dec. 20th, 1862, when taken pris. in Trenton, Tenn. Reported as absent without leave from Oct. 18th, 1863, until Dec. 10th, when reported absent detached at Div. H'd Q'rs.
Private Thomas, A. S.	Present for duty since enlisted.
Private Thomas, John N.	Present for duty until Dec. 31st, 1862, when wounded at Parker's Cross Roads, by having his arm shot off. In Hospital, Jackson, Tenn., until April 6th when discharged by order U. S. Grant, Maj. Gen. comdng. Western Dp't.
Private Vannerman, I. N.	Present since enlisted.
Private Williams, James H.	Present for duty until Jan. 25th, 1863, when detailed as Regtl. baker. Returned for duty Dec. 22nd, 1863.
Private Winson, William	Pres. for duty since enlisted.
Private Young, William A.	Pres. for duty since enlisted.

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No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber, 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

. Nos. 6-36. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1929. (Nos. 6-26 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. clvi and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

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*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

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*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime. 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. 1. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. xxxiii and 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

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